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# **China Report**

**RED FLAG**

**No. 14, 16 July 1980**



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## CHINA REPORT

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No. 14, 16 July 1980

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Beijing.

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COMBRADE FANG ZHMIN IN PRISON

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 80 inside front cover  
(Woodcut by Jiang Huaijiang [1728 2037 3068])



CSO: 4004

## THE DEMOCRATIC SPIRIT AND BUREAUCRACY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 80 pp 2-5

[Article by Liu Shaoqi]

[Text] Editor's Note: This is a speech made by Comrade Liu Shaoqi at the party school of the Central China Bureau in 1941 and has been revised based on the records at that time. We have omitted some repetitive sentences and changed some quoted passages so that it is now published in its present form.

On the basis of the actual situations in China and our party, this article makes use of the historical materialist view and studies and analyzes the questions of democracy and bureaucracy and puts forth and expounds some important principles on how to correctly handle relations within the party and among the people.

Comrade Liu Shaoqi noted: "We must educate the Chinese masses in the democratic spirit, and it is also necessary for us to conduct this education within our party." This not only played a significant role in party building and the building of the democratic political power in the revolutionary bases at that time, but was and still is of very great significance in correctly implementing democracy within the party and among the people and in effectively preventing and overcoming bureaucracy, both after our party became the ruling party and during our present course of developing the four modernizations.

Our present revolution is called the democratic revolution, our government is called the democratic government against Japanese aggression and our bases are called the democratic bases against Japanese aggression. In fact, we talk about democracy in everything we do. However, what exactly is democracy?

What is democracy? "Democracy" actually is a foreign term. The two declarations of the bourgeois revolutions we read about, that is, the U.S. Declaration of Independence and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, noted at the very beginning that all men are created by God and are born equal. They then added that the state belongs to the people and should be ruled and enjoyed by them. This is the so-called "of the people, by the people and for the people." That is to say, all people enjoy the most fundamental rights, such as freedom of speech, press, assembly, association, residence and movement. The people's rights and duties toward the state are equal. This is the democratic substance advocated by the bourgeois revolution.

As you comrades all know, there are different kinds of democracy. The bourgeoisie has its bourgeois democracy, and we the proletariat have our proletarian democracy. They are not only different in form but also different in nature and substance. Bourgeois democracy has its bourgeois substance and form, and proletarian democracy has its proletarian substance and form.

The bourgeoisie talk about equality and the people's rights in many instances, yet they can allow those absolutely unequal economic positions. The bourgeoisie possess hundreds of millions in wealth, yet they do not care about scores of millions of people who are suffering from a shortage of food and clothing. The state and society are founded on an economic structure. The methods of production of material wealth, the productive forces and the relations of production constitute the foundation of society. Since people are economically unequal, they are therefore unequal in all other respects. Equality under the law is hypocritical. In fact, it only insures the freedom and right of the bourgeoisie to exploit the workers. This is the real substance of bourgeois democracy.

Proletarian democracy is totally different from bourgeois democracy. It not only requires legal equality and equality in political rights and duties, but also--what is most significant--requires economic equality and the elimination of capital and private property. During the Russian October Revolution there was a law: "He who does not work, neither should he eat." This law eliminated the economic inequality. Everyone will have to work; and those who do not work should have nothing to eat, no matter how much money they have. With economic equality it is thus possible to have equality in politics, social positions, law, education and all other aspects.

Apart from permitting economic inequality, the bourgeoisie also impose restrictions on political and legal equality (the present fascists simply write off democracy); and especially there is inequality regarding nationalities. For instance, the United States talks about equality, yet it treats the black people unequally. In addition, there also are restrictions on religion, sex and so on. Proletarian democracy breaks all these dividing lines. So only proletarian democracy is complete democracy. This is the difference in substance.

Apart from the difference in substance, there also is a difference in form. The form of government of the bourgeois democratic states--for example, the parliamentary system--talks about democracy on the one hand and deceives the people on the other. Only proletarian democracy can truly enlist the laboring masses to participate in the administration of the state. As soon as the proletariat secure political power, they carry out the dictatorship of the proletariat to suppress the counterrevolutionaries and stipulate that the reactionary exploiting class are stripped of their democratic rights. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat the proletariat are in a leadership position. Apart from truly enjoying the fundamental rights of freedom of speech, the press, association and assembly, all the people also enjoy the rights to work, to rest and to receive education. This is possible only after the economic inequality is broken.

Now let us turn to the question of the democratic spirit.

What is the democratic spirit? It is the spirit of equality. The bourgeoisie talk about democracy in words only. They actually cannot practice democracy. Only the communists can truly maintain equality. We the revolutionaries must have the spirit of equality. We hold that no one has the right to oppress or exploit another person, nor does he have the right to humiliate the dignity of another person. If I can exploit your labor and you can do nothing but willingly accept my order, then this is inequality. This shows a lack of the democratic spirit.

However, people's innate natures are different: there is the difference in intelligence development; some are tall while some are short; some have great physical strength while some have little; and there are men and women. Everyone has his own special conditions, and these are in fact inherent differences. In addition, because of the difference in people's social status and environment, there is a division of labor in society, including all the differences in jobs and duties as well as functions and powers. For example, in our army there are commanders and fighters, and there are senior commanders and junior commanders. They are different in their duties and authority; the commanders must give orders and the fighters must obey orders. There are responsible people and irresponsible people in the party, and there are leaders and those being led. However, despite their innate differences and their differences in work, duties, functions and powers, all of them are basically equal. There is no inequality in the rights of man. A commander does not have the right to beat or abuse other people or exploit another person; otherwise he will be violating the democratic spirit. In dealing with the people, including foreigners and China's minority nationalities, if I may beat them and order them to work for me, then this amounts to a lack of the democratic spirit. In China, because of the long history of feudal society, man seemed to be of a higher rank and woman of a lower rank: the man may beat the woman but the woman may not beat the man. Of course, I do not mean to favor the woman beating the man. However, society seems to hold that the man

beating the woman is something that ought to be. This shows a lack of the democratic spirit. For another example, in our work we need an assistant to help us in doing some jobs. However, if we think that the assistant is of a lower rank than we, then this again shows a lack of the democratic spirit. Apart from assisting us in doing some jobs and apart from the difference in duties, the assistant has not lost any of his rights, obligations and personal dignity. I think we should understand the democratic spirit in this manner.

Let us take a look at how Stalin talked about the democratic spirit. First, at the First All-Union Congress of Collective Farm Shock Brigadiers, Stalin noted that he originally did not intend to speak at the congress, because several comrades had said before him all that had to be said and had said it well and to the point. "But as you insist, and the power is in your hands, I must submit." ("Complete Works of Stalin," Vol 13, p 212) This is what we called the democratic spirit. Stalin did not think that since he was the leader he could either speak or not speak as he wished.

The 8th Route Army and the New 4th Army have true democratic spirit. It is indeed not easy to distinguish between the officers and soldiers in the armed units. This is a very good spirit and must be developed in the future. The united front has had some undesirable influence on some cadres. These cadres and comrades not only do not carry forward and maintain our democratic tradition, but also deliberately make themselves different from others. We must eliminate the mentality of ranks which says that we are high above other people. It is against democracy and is intolerable. The mentality of ranks and the hierarchical system are things of the feudal society. Hitler in fact acted in this way. There is not enough democratic spirit among many of our cadres. They really think that other people are of a lower rank while they themselves are of a higher rank, without realizing that the differences in duties and authority are but transitory. Today when a person is a commander he has various functions and powers; but tomorrow when he is not a commander he will become an ordinary person. When the United States' first president, Washington, retired from office he became an ordinary citizen. So even the bourgeoisie in the United States can adhere to democracy in this manner. Nevertheless, there are those among our party members who feel dissatisfied when they are required to retire from office and become ordinary people. There is the same phenomenon among the intellectuals: for example, when people become university students they will think that they are of a higher rank than secondary students. Not all of our comrades are able to truly and profoundly understand democracy and possess the democratic spirit. There are not many who can understand democracy and truly treat other comrades and party members with the democratic spirit in their work. In developing the democratic revolution, if we want to stand above the people, then this will not mean that we have won a victory in revolution but that we have bred a large number of bureaucrats in the revolution. Therefore, in developing the democratic

revolution we should first of all possess the democratic spirit ourselves. We must practice democracy politically and organizationally, enhance the party members' democratic spirit and eliminate our non-democratic spirit. This is necessary in developing our democratic revolution.

However, the spirit of equality or the democratic spirit does not mean egalitarianism. At present there are among our comrades on the one hand the manifestation of inadequate democratic spirit, and on the other hand the manifestation of the phenomenon of ultrademocracy regarding certain egalitarian demands. They negate the organizational spirit, negate the fact that there are commanders and those being commanded among our ranks and negate the fact that there are leaders and those being led within the party. The spirit of equality and the democratic spirit are literally absent in these kinds of egalitarian and ultrademocratic demands. Under existing conditions, people are different in their standards of education, abilities, the responsibilities they shoulder and the contributions they make. Each has his own special features. Therefore, there are differences in duties and remunerations. Some people have heavy responsibilities. They have attendants, have horses to ride and have slightly better food. This is because they do more work, work harder and expend more energy. So it is necessary to have such differences in order to make them equal. Otherwise they will be treated unequally. Egalitarianism negates the differences in functions, powers and remunerations. This is not correct. Nevertheless, these people must not think that they are therefore of a higher rank because of such differences, because this will be against the democratic spirit.

The democratic spirit is a very significant question. China is a country which lacks the democratic tradition; the ordinary people have not received any training in democracy and know nothing about democracy. There are also many party members within our party who do not understand democracy. We are somewhat different from the people of Europe and the United States, who have gone through the democratic revolution and scores of years of training in democracy. When some comrades went to work in various localities they knew nothing about democratic methods, and as a result they have made themselves bureaucrats. It is therefore very necessary to talk about the democratic spirit today, and it is also necessary to talk about it within our party. We must educate the Chinese masses in the democratic spirit, and it is also necessary that we conduct this education within our party.

Bureaucracy is the opposite of democracy. An absence of the spirit of democracy means bureaucracy. It is a form of domination in all societies of the exploiting classes. Bureaucracy often attaches special importance to the external forms of matters and does many things in a decent manner in order to deceive the masses. Therefore, all exploiting classes are concerned about face-saving. Otherwise they will not be able to survive as bureaucrats.

Bureaucracy exists not only among the ranks of the exploiting classes, but also among the ranks of the proletariat, in the Communist Party and in the proletarian countries. In particular, when those of the proletariat and their political party become the ruling party, bureaucracy also becomes a serious problem. Lenin said: "Our country is a workers' country with the illness of bureaucracy." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 32, p 7) So there is also bureaucracy within the Communist Party. In some places in our democratic bases against Japanese aggression, bureaucracy is quite strong. Where does the bureaucracy among our ranks of the oppressed classes come from? Lenin said: "It is possible to expel the czar--expel the landlords--and expel the capitalists. We have actually achieved this. However, we can neither 'expel' nor 'completely eliminate' bureaucracy in a peasant country. We can only gradually reduce it through obstinate efforts." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 35, p 490) "And not because the laws prevent it from being so, as was the case under the bourgeoisie; on the contrary, our laws assist in this respect. But in this matter laws alone are not enough. A vast amount of educational, organizational and cultural work is required; this cannot be done rapidly by legislation but demands a vast amount of work over a long period of time." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 29, p 152)

Bureaucracy exists within our party, because the influence of the non-proletariat within the party is very strong, and it is more so because of the inadequate standards of education of China's proletariat and laboring masses. Bureaucracy exists today and will continue to exist in the future. Therefore, the elimination of bureaucracy is a matter of scores of years and even a much longer period of time. Today there are many people who write articles and slogans demanding the elimination of bureaucracy. It is certainly necessary to eliminate bureaucracy. However, it cannot be eliminated overnight. Stalin said: "So much is being said about bureaucracy that there is no need to expand on it. That elements of bureaucracy exist in our state, cooperative and party apparatus there can be no doubt. That it is necessary to combat the elements of bureaucracy, and that this task will confront us all the time as long as we have state power, as long as the state exists, is also a fact." "But one must know how far one can go. To carry the struggle against bureaucracy in the state apparatus to the point of destroying the state apparatus, of discrediting the state apparatus, of attempts to break it up--that means going against Leninism, means forgetting that our apparatus is a soviet apparatus, which is a state apparatus of a higher type than any other state apparatus in the world." ("Complete Works of Stalin," Vol 10, p 273) Compared with the apparatuses of the Japanese bandits, the traitor Wang Jingwei and the diehards, our apparatus has far less bureaucracy, and it is also of a different nature. However, until the standards of education of the proletariat and the laboring masses are eventually raised, so long as the state political power still exists and until the difference between mental labor and physical labor is eliminated, bureaucracy cannot be completely eliminated.

Why will the inadequate standards of education of the proletariat and the laboring masses breed bureaucracy? Bureaucracy is founded on the masses' ignorance and backwardness, which makes it easier for the exploiting classes to dominate and deceive the masses. When the masses' standards of education are low, it is possible that they will be deceived and it is possible that bureaucracy will exist. When the standards of education of some of the people are relatively high, and when some jobs can only be done by those with high standards of education, then they give orders and thus develop themselves into bureaucrats. I used to engage in the work of workers and peasants movements. I judged the situations and told them how to organize themselves and how to wage struggles. When the struggles turned out to be victorious, they all applauded and thought that I had done them favors. They attributed all the achievements to me alone. That is to say, the masses want to uphold and support you as bureaucrats. As we have now learned something about democracy, when the masses want us to stay above them we will step down ourselves. Nevertheless, only people who have the democratic spirit can do this. There are some people who, when the masses ~~want us~~ want to stay above them, will not come down. Thus they become the ~~re~~bureaucrats. Of course, if you are bad bureaucrats, the masses will still oppose you. Enhancing the masses' standards of education, and especially their democratic spirit, and conducting education in democracy are our significant methods in opposing bureaucracy. Removing the bureaucrats from office only serves to bring about a temporary solution. Democracy must be practiced in all work and organization systems to insure the launching of the struggle against bureaucracy. All Communist Party members and cadres must have adequate democratic spirit and the spirit of equality and must supervise and spur themselves and other people with democratic actions. In this way we shall be able to continuously prevent and gradually overcome bureaucracy.

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## REFORM THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE AND ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 80 pp 6-15

[Article by Xue Huqiao (5641 2550 2890)]

(Text) Since the convening of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee we have summed up the experiences of our economic work over the past 30 years in accordance with the spirit of seeking truth from facts and have carried out the readjustment of the national economy and the reform of the economic management system. We have scored marked success in our work. Of course, this is a strenuous and complicated task and cannot be completed within 1 or 2 years. We will constantly encounter new things and new problems in our work. To deal with them we should emancipate our minds and rack our brains to present different views and plans. At the same time we should analyze and compare them, so that the central authorities will select the best among them. I would like to express my personal views in accordance with the guiding principle put forward by the central authorities.

### 1. Diversified Management Forms of the Socialist Economy

The theories of Marx and Engels on scientific socialism are constantly being developed in practice. In the "Communist Manifesto" Marx and Engels summarized their theories as "abolishment of private ownership," which would lead to the abolition of exploitation and classes. After the failure of the Paris Commune, Marx explicitly pointed out in his "Critique of the Gotha Program" written in 1875: The transition from capitalism to communism should undergo a period which is still stamped with the traditions and birthmarks of the old society. In the book he also expounded the principle of distribution according to work. Due to the fact that he believed that proletarian revolution would first win its victory in the most advanced capitalist countries, all he had in mind was the public ownership of the society. In such a society there was no exchange of commodities, and labor certificates could be used to replace currency. This was a great ideal. However, owing to the fact that there was no socialist practice in the time of Marx and Engels, it was impossible for them to work out every detail of socialism.

After the October Revolution in Russia, Lenin summed up both positive and negative experiences of wartime communism and the New Economic Policy, pointing out that commodity and currency would exist for a pretracted time in the period of socialism. Under the leadership of Stalin, the collectivization of agriculture was accomplished. In his report delivered in 1936 on the problem of the constitution, Stalin said that there were two kinds of socialist ownership in socialist society and that there were working class, peasant class and intellectual strata in such a society. This was a new development in the socialist idea. Whether there should still be commodities after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was the point at issue in the Soviet Union. In his old age, Stalin summed up the experiences of socialist construction. He explicitly pointed out in his "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR": So long as there are two kinds of socialist public ownership, there should still be exchanges of commodities, and the law of value still plays its role. This was another new development in the socialist idea. However, Stalin failed to mention whether commodity exchange still existed after the two kinds of ownership had merged into one, namely, public ownership by the entire society. This was also a point in debate. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: There might still be commodities after the transition from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people. Comrade Liu Shaoqi also said that, so long as the principle of distribution according to work is not abandoned, commodities should not be abolished.

Stalin committed mistakes in dealing with the following problems: He wrongly thought that in such a big country as the Soviet Union, where the economic development of various areas was unbalanced, ownership by the whole people could only follow one and the same pattern. He failed to take into account the differences between areas and enterprises. To him, this was also the case with collective ownership. In the meantime, he also maintained that essential means of production (land and agricultural machinery) could only be nationalized. While dealing with the matter of the state purchase of agricultural products, he violated the principle of exchange at equal value. Although Stalin admitted that the exchange of products between the two kinds of ownership was an exchange of commodities, he denied the role of the law of value in regulating agricultural production. Furthermore, he maintained that the exchange of products between enterprises under ownership by the whole people was no longer an exchange of commodities. He therefore adopted an economic management system which only attached importance to the readjustment of plans but neglected the regulation of markets.

The level of economic development in old China was lower than that in czarist Russia. In old China the economic development of different areas was unbalanced, and the backward areas lagged behind the advanced ones by several centuries. In such a country it was more necessary for the proletariat, after its seizure of political power, to study in a scientific way the methods of building socialism by applying the theories of

historical materialism. China spent only 8 years accomplishing socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production. In the past our efforts were regarded as completely successful. Judging by present standards, we discover that we advanced a bit too fast during the first and second years and overdid our work in some respects. In 1958 we organized people's communes on a big scale, and tendencies to effect the transition to communism prematurely were greatly encouraged. Afterward we gradually retreated in the subsequent 2 or 3 years. However, the ideas of one-sidedly hankering after the basic characteristics of "larger in size and having a higher degree of public ownership" have not been overcome to date. We learned from the Soviet experiences to establish ownership by the whole people and collective ownership based on one and the same pattern. We tried to abolish collective ownership in towns and cities, and in rural areas we banned various kinds of economic activities which suited the local conditions. We also tried to eradicate the remnants of private economy prematurely. Influenced by such guiding thought we only attached importance to the readjustment of our plans but neglected the regulation of markets. We overemphasized centralized unity and economic management systems which were unsuitable to the actual conditions.

In our country's vast rural areas the commodity economy is least developed. Without developing the commodity economy and making use of the role of markets, it is impossible to expand socialized large-scale production. As a result, we will not succeed in building socialism. Socialism in the rural areas today is immature, because it is based on a seminatural economy. Construction should not always be limited within the scope of communes. Instead, we should expand the economic ties between the city and the countryside. Most of the capitalist industry and commerce in our country never reached a stage of monopoly capitalism. In the meantime, we never developed various kinds of economic organizations (such as trusts) to promote economic integration. Beginning in the 1950's, we utilized the experiences of the Soviet Union and adopted administrative management systems which lacked coordination. We cut off some existing market economic ties and recklessly abandoned the market economic structure suitable for modern and large-scale production which has been developed in the capitalist world over the past 200 to 300 years. We devised our own economic patterns which hampered the development of productive forces to a certain extent. We must realize that socialism does not come from the brains of a handful of people and that it is developed on the actual social basis. Therefore, it is against the Marxist theories of historical materialism to try to skip over the development stage of commodity economy, abruptly abolish the inevitable differences in the actual society and establish a homogeneous and "pure socialism."

Under the conditions whereby socialist public ownership occupies a dominant position, China's socialist economy should allow the coexistence of diversified economic management forms and a small number of other economic sectors within certain limits. Ownership by the whole people should not follow only one pattern. Various trades and services as well as areas

should be allowed to have varying degrees of mechanization. Different kinds of large, medium and small enterprises should also be allowed to adopt different kinds of business management methods. Enterprises under collective ownership should not follow one pattern either. Due to the fact that various economic units acquire different degrees of public ownership, the collective economic sectors should be allowed to be included in the economy under the ownership by the whole people. Private economic sectors should also be allowed to exist in the economy under the collective ownership. Collective ownership in towns and cities is different from that in the rural areas. It is also different from the ownership by the whole people. Owing to the fact that the differences in economic conditions in various areas are so great, it is more necessary for collective ownership in the rural areas to adopt different kinds of management forms. "Three-level ownership by the commune, the production brigade and the production team, with the production team as the basic accounting unit," is basically in accord with the level of development of productive forces in most areas throughout the country. In a small number of communes where the commune-run and brigade-run enterprises are highly developed and the incomes of communes and production brigades far exceed those of production teams, the collective ownership there has developed into an ownership by the production brigade, or ownership by the commune in some particular cases. Most of these economic management forms are correct. However, in a tiny number of areas throughout the country, production teams are still unable to satisfy the commune members' minimum needs in their livelihood. To deal with this problem, apart from encouraging the commune members' initiative for collective economy, we should utilize their initiative for private economy. In particular, in the remote and mountainous districts as well as pastoral areas where population is sparse, if we impose large-scale collective production on them, their labor productivity inevitably will drop, and extensive waste will result. Therefore, a more flexible method should be adopted to deal with the problem of ownership there. Determining which kind of ownership is the best is judged by its role in expanding social productive forces and in increasing labor productivity, as well as in attaining the most powerful economic effects. It is a fanciful idea to talk about the basic characteristics of "larger in size and having a higher degree of public ownership" if we stray from such a principle.

I believe that enterprises under collective ownership in towns and cities throughout the country still have a vast field for development. It is wrong to abolish collective ownership. The "big collective ownership" currently followed in towns and cities is actually a "small ownership by the whole people." It is only slightly different from the state-run enterprises in terms of administrative management, payment for labor and so forth, with the exception that enterprises under the Second Ministry of Light Industry are allowed to set aside a small portion of profits for their own use. After 1970 a great number of enterprises under "small collective ownership," namely, neighborhood enterprises, were set up in towns and cities. They did not completely follow the

principle of collective ownership. Once they developed they were expropriated without any compensation and upgraded to state-run enterprises or enterprises under "big collective ownership." It seems that people have been influenced by such an idea for a long time; that is, that collective ownership in towns and cities is obsolete. To solve the problem of employment, last year many towns and cities set up a number of cooperatives or cooperative groups which assume sole responsibility for their profits or losses. However, many people wrongly regarded this as a temporary measure to solve the problem of employment. To them, all these cooperatives and cooperative groups were reserve armies of labor for state-run enterprises. Once state-run enterprises invited applications for jobs, members of these cooperatives rushed to snatch the "iron rice bowl" one after another. Enterprises under collective ownership in Beijing have been run well, but members of the cooperatives still viewed them as "paper rice bowls." People doubted whether enterprises under collective ownership would exist permanently. Many cooperatives were set up through administrative orders, and the basic principles of cooperative ownership, such as volunteerism, sole responsibility for profits or losses, sharing out bonuses, democratic management and so forth, were neglected. Although the municipal party committee decided to treat equally, without discrimination, enterprises under ownership by the whole people and those under collective ownership, some departments were reluctant to implement the policy. As a result, organizations under collective ownership were still inferior to others. Under such circumstances it was difficult to consolidate organizations under collective ownership. Private laborers who did not exploit others naturally were discriminated against.

In some poor rural areas the system of allocation of work responsibility to groups was adopted last year. In a small number of areas work responsibility was even allocated to households or individuals, and a distribution system based on output was also adopted. Marked results in increasing production were achieved. The allocation of work responsibility to households or individuals is different from the allocation of land to individual households. Land is still owned by the public. Production teams work out unified plans and exercise unified leadership. Collective labor should be carried out provided that it is beneficial to some farm work.

To raise the level of public ownership of agriculture we should not rely entirely on expanding collective production. Peasants can be organized on a larger scale by expanding the relations between supply and marketing. In Yugoslavia individual peasants have accounted for a larger percentage. However, the agricultural, industrial and commercial complexes have organized state farms, cooperative farms and individual farms into agricultural, industrial and commercial communities through the relations between supply and marketing. They are larger in scale than our people's communes, and their levels of commercialization, mechanization and socialization are higher than ours. It is obviously a fairly good

organizational form to organize agricultural laborers through the channel of circulation. Prior to the establishment of agricultural cooperatives in our country, we also organized peasants through supply and marketing cooperatives. Of course, we have a vast population and insufficient land in our country. A household with 10 mu of land cannot carry out mechanization, and such a family will encounter great difficulties in leveling land and obtaining irrigation. Therefore, these families should be organized. However, the collectivization of agriculture should be in line with local conditions and adopt various kinds of management forms. Any form of management we adopt should be beneficial to raising labor productivity and achieving economic effects.

The law on joint ventures with Chinese and foreign investment promulgated last year will give rise to a new economic sector in our country. While permitting capitalist countries to invest in China, we should also encourage Overseas Chinese and compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao to expand their investments in the motherland. Since last year this kind of joint state-private enterprise has begun to develop in many areas. The Association of Industry and Commerce in Shanghai recently organized a patriotic construction company. It has raised funds amounting to 50 or 60 million yuan. It will build houses for Overseas Chinese and provide loans for some medium and small enterprises, and enterprises under collective ownership in particular. Similar kinds of companies have also been set up in Tianjin and Beijing. I believe that the funds of these patriotic people and their experiences in business management and market regulation will benefit our socialist construction. Our constitution stipulates that the state allows individual workers to engage in individual labor involving no exploitation of others. I believe that this kind of individual labor will develop to a certain extent in the next few years. Service trades in towns and cities, such as catering, tailoring, repairing, and others, are manual operations and suitable for decentralized management. All these trades are preferably managed by cooperatives, individual workers and cooperative groups which assume sole responsibility for their profits and losses. Socialist public ownership in our country has been strongly consolidated, and the existence of a small number of semisocialist or nonsocialist economic sectors will never shake the dominant position of the socialist economy. Under the staunch leadership of the socialist state-owned economy, taking a great number of collective enterprises as aids to the state-owned economy and a small number of other economic sectors as its supplementary parts is an inevitable course in our socialist construction.

## 2. Promote Strong Points, Avoid Weaknesses and Give Full Play to Advantages

Ours is a big country with a population of 970 million and an area of 9.6 million square kilometers. We should establish an independent and fairly complete economic system throughout the country. The principle we put forward during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan was

completely different. However, we later followed the practice of establishing a complete economic system in every economically coordinated region or even in every province. This was a wrong practice. Different parts of our country differ greatly in their natural conditions, and each area has its own peculiarities. The principle of our economic construction should encourage the practice of promoting strong points, avoiding weaknesses and giving full play to advantages. Division of labor and coordination should be carried out throughout the country, and mutual help to make up what the other lacks is absolutely necessary. Each area has its own strong points and weaknesses. Shanghai is the most developed industrial area, but it lacks various kinds of natural resources. Many places in the northwest and southwest areas are backward in their industries but rich in natural resources. These two different kinds of areas should carry out divisions of labor and coordination, help meet each other's needs and give full play to each other's advantages. This will be most beneficial to both areas.

To compete in world markets we should also follow the principle of promoting strong points, avoiding weaknesses and giving full play to our advantages. In the international market competition, sufficient manpower, low cost of living and abundant natural resources are our advantages, whereas insufficient funds and low technological and management levels are our weak points. Therefore, over a fairly long period of time we should utilize our abundant natural resources and develop more industries which require a great amount of manpower. In the meantime, we should avoid developing too many industries which require a large amount of funds and sophisticated techniques. By giving full play to our advantages we can gradually accumulate funds and raise some of our important industries to the advanced world level.

While making overall economic arrangements at home, each and every area should also promote its strong points, avoid weaknesses and do everything possible to give full play to its advantages in accordance with local natural conditions. Influenced by the guiding thought that each and every area should establish a complete economic system, some areas which were poor in such mineral resources as coal and iron tried hard to establish industrial bases of coal and iron. As a result, money and manpower were wasted. Insofar as agriculture is concerned, the principle of making grain the key link was carried out in mountain and pastoral areas and subtropical zones. In this way the local natural resources were severely sabotaged. During the past 30 years it was our subjective intention to speedily reduce the distinction between different areas. Actually, such distinction was widened. Our failure can be attributed to two reasons. First, we adopted a wrong guiding principle for construction. In mountain areas we ruined forests in order to reclaim land. In pastoral areas we destroyed grasslands in order to plant crops. This caused soil erosion and expanded the desert areas. Second, we had insufficient accumulations, and people's living standards were extremely low. Some agricultural areas were unable to maintain even simple reproduction,

but they blindly carried out large-scale farmland capital construction. Even the remaining meager manpower, material resources and money were not properly used to increase production and yearly income and improve the people's livelihood, which remained unchanged for several years. Even their poor accumulations were wasted. Actually, mountain and pastoral areas with vast land and sparse population have abundant natural resources, such as bamboo, furs and a variety of other local products. These are badly needed at home. A great number of local products sell well on international markets after processing and refining. If all these areas had given full play to their advantages in a planned way over the past 30 years, the advanced industrial areas would not have run short of raw materials, and light industry would have developed more speedily. In the meantime, backward areas would have increased their income, and their economic backwardness would have been changed.

Generally speaking, capitalist countries develop their agriculture first. Later, they develop their light industry. Finally they exert their efforts to develop heavy industry. Socialist countries can shorten such a process but cannot change it. Advanced and backward areas at home should share the work and cooperate with each other. If advanced areas demand perfection and try to be self-sufficient, they will not be able to give full play to their advantages. Backward areas should make full use of their advantages to develop their agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, fishery and so forth. They should, first of all, center their efforts on expending raw material supplies and then gradually develop their unskilled and skilled processing industry. To solve the problem that our country is running short of raw materials for light industry, backward areas should also make full use of their own favorable natural conditions to develop the production of raw materials. This is also an important aspect of giving full play to their advantages. These areas have a vast territory and are abundant in natural resources. In this respect, plain areas are very inferior to them. If they adopt a policy in line with local conditions and give full play to their advantages, the income of the people in mountainous and pastoral areas will probably exceed that of the people in plain areas or even of workers. Several countries in northern Europe export timber, and Australia exports wool, and they have gained large profits from their export business. Why should our mountainous and pastoral areas not use the experiences of these countries for reference?

Ours is a socialist country. We have to work out an all-round plan in order to give full play to the advantages of various areas. There are defects and shortcomings in our present price and commercial systems. It is necessary for the central authorities to make an all-round arrangement in order to give full play to the advantages of various areas. For example, Heilongjiang Province exports a large amount of oil, timber, coal and food grain.

With these four "trump cards" at hand, Heilongjiang enjoys great advantages, because all these products are badly needed throughout the

country. However, the prices of these products are low, and, with the exception of oil, they do not bring much profit to the province. Instead of earning profits, Heilongjiang Province sometimes loses money in developing these products. Before the prices of timber, coal and grain are increased, I suggest that we follow a reasonable method of calculating the prices of these products so that the deficits incurred in the business will be made up while we work out a financial budget. In addition, Heilongjiang Province will not get cash payment locally, because all these products should be shipped to other provinces and sold there. This will result in regional inflation and stringent supplies. Therefore, while making a state plan for commodity circulation we should pay attention to supplying Heilongjiang with products from light industry approximately equal in price to the products it exports to other provinces, in accordance with the principle of exchange at equal value. Otherwise, Heilongjiang Province will not be able to give full play to its advantages. Cattle hides, wool, meat, milk and so forth produced in Nei Monggol are also badly needed. Today the income of herdsmen in the Nei Monggol pastoral area is higher than that of peasants in grain-producing areas. This has partly shown the advantages of the pastoral area. However, after exporting a great number of livestock products, herdsmen in the pastoral area still lack articles for everyday use. Therefore, trade departments should adopt a principle of exchange at equal value and supply herdsmen with articles of daily use so that they will lead a bountiful life.

To give full play to the advantages of various areas we should gradually increase the prices of agricultural, livestock, forestry and aquatic products, provided that conditions permit. In the meantime, we should also change the one-way and planned system of allocation and transfer of goods so that the amount of imports and exports will be approximately equal. At present, after reaching the targets set in the state plan for the allocation and transfer of goods, areas which produce raw materials should be allowed to exchange their goods with other provinces for products they need at a "negotiable price," or to send their raw materials to other provinces for processing and then share the profits. The same principle should also be pursued in the allocation and transfer of goods between the cities and the countryside to encourage the production of agricultural, livestock, forestry and aquatic products as well as the production of other raw materials. If we follow these principles, we will not only encourage various areas to give full play to their advantages, but also gradually reduce their distinction.

### 3. Protect Competition and Promote Unity

During the 3-year recovery period and the period of the First Five-Year Plan, the state-run and privately operated enterprises actively competed with each other. At that time the state-run enterprises were full of vitality, and they speedily defeated the capitalist economy. After the basic accomplishment of socialist transformation, state enterprises

monopolized everything. Due to the fact that we pursued the practice of a high degree of centralism and of monopolizing everything and eliminating competition, bureaucratism in our economic management developed increasingly. This gradually ossified our economic structure and activities. After the third plenary session we carried out a reform of the economic management system on a trial basis and combined the readjustment of plans with the regulation of markets. Guided by state plans, we give full play to the role of markets. For a year or so we changed the usual systems of purchasing and distribution by the state (means of livelihood) and planned distribution (means of production). In other words, the production of many kinds of articles for everyday use is decided by sales volume. Commercial departments have the priority to select and purchase them, and factories themselves are allowed to sell the goods which commercial departments do not want to buy. Meetings for ordering capital products and sales exhibitions are held in some main cities. Those products which are not included in the plans for allocation and transfer can be exchanged for goods from other areas without interference from the state plans. In the past, supply and marketing cooperatives monopolized the purchase of agricultural and subsidiary products. Commercial departments were not allowed to go to the countryside, and supply and marketing cooperatives were not allowed to go to the cities. The exchanges between city and countryside were thus hampered. We have now begun to remove the barriers between the cities and the rural areas. Some areas allow their communes and production brigades to sell their products in the cities. Although the amount of products which factories, communes and production brigades can sell for themselves is small, some competition in markets will be encouraged. Due to the direct contacts between the buying and selling parties, the departments concerned know what kinds of products sell well and what kinds of products have no market. Thus, the production departments can readjust their production plans, and commercial departments can readjust their purchasing and selling plans. In the meantime, the dislocation between production and demand will be reduced. Some factories send their staff members to sell their products so that they can acquaint themselves with the demands of customers, or they put up advertisements to promote sales. Some department stores have begun to improve their attitude in waiting on customers because there is competition. All those new things have just occurred. So long as we make the best use of the new situation and promote its development, we will score marked success.

To pursue a policy of market regulation we should allow competition and protect it. Due to the fact that free competition is a principle of the capitalist economy, during the past 30 years we did not dare mention competition, and we only allowed emulation. Competition and emulation are entirely different. Through competition the winners will gain more profits and their staff members more bonuses. This has become a motive force for improving productive technology and business management. Of course, socialist competition is different in principle from that of capitalist society. Our competition is based on public ownership of the

means of production and the guidance of the state plans. It is not free competition. Competition should be combined with material interests. Otherwise, competition will not play its role of encouraging and rewarding the advanced units and spurring on the backward ones. For many years in the past we opposed competition which was combined with material interests. No different treatment was given to enterprises which made profits or lost money or to staff members who worked hard or did a shoddy job. This impeded the improvement of our productive technology and business management and caused a dislocation between production and markets. Due to the fact that we attached no importance to economic effects, enormous waste was incurred. Some comrades were afraid of competition because they thought that it would widen the differences. In fact, such differences will become a motive force for encouraging and rewarding the advanced units and spurring on the backward ones. Differences exist objectively, and we cannot speedily eliminate them in accordance with our subjective wishes. Now we admit difference in order to swiftly develop production and create conditions for eliminating these differences in the future. Equalitarianism which reflects the petty bourgeois ideas is not scientific socialism.

The protection of competition not only is ideologically hindered but also contradicts our rules and regulations in force. According to our present rules and regulations, all trades and services take on everything, and each and every area "restricts its own activities to a designated sphere" without interfering in the other's business. Competition is limited or banned. Therefore, to protect competition we should change some of our rules and regulations which impede competition. Partition and blockade between areas, services and trades should be lifted. The protection of competition will probably contradict the partial interests of certain areas and departments. During the past 20 years we called on various areas to establish a complete industrial system. The "five small industries" were founded all over the country. A large number of products produced by these "five small industries" were poor quality, expensive to produce and cost a lot, and inevitably they were eliminated in competition. To protect these backward enterprises, some local authorities did not allow the departments concerned to order or buy goods from advanced units in other areas. It was obvious that this interference by the local authorities was not beneficial to the development of enterprises in these areas.

The protection of competition also contradicts our current price management system. Price is an important tool in competition. If we only accept one price in all markets throughout the country, such a practice will be detrimental to competition between various areas and enterprises (including companies). At present all enterprises must pursue a unified pricing system. The prices of goods which sell well cannot be raised, whereas the prices of products which have no buyers cannot be reduced. In other words, enterprises are not allowed to pursue the principle of raising the prices of high-quality products and lowering the prices of

low-quality goods. The production of many low-quality and expensive products can be continued by relying on arranged distribution and state financial subsidies. Those high-quality and inexpensive products are frequently restricted by the system of state purchasing and distribution and planned prices. Thus, their competition in the markets is handicapped. To protect competition, price departments should give enterprises certain decisionmaking power to fix the prices of their products. Those factories which produce inexpensive products because of advanced technology and good management should be allowed to pursue a practice of small profits but quick turnover. The prices of some badly needed raw materials and very good quality products should be raised a bit, so full play can be given to their competitive power.

During the past 2 years we have gradually corrected the policy of seclusion pursued by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and have boldly advanced into international markets. It is obvious that we should be competitive in order to sell our products in international markets. Before competing in international markets we should, first of all, compete in the domestic markets. Without taking part in sports meets at home, it is impossible for us to win gold medals in the Olympic Games. To protect competition we should oppose the policy of imposing a blockade on any area. We should not allow any local government to use administrative means to impede other areas from selling their products in its markets in order to protect its backward industries. Various areas should share the work and cooperate with each other. They should help supply each other's needs. They should learn from the strong points of others to offset their own weaknesses (or use their strong points to help others overcome their weaknesses). The stipulation that every enterprise is restricted to its trade and area should be changed. Such a stipulation will not be beneficial to the comprehensive utilization of natural resources and the exchange of products through economic channels. Different enterprises dealing with different trades should be allowed to establish joint enterprises (such as coal mine and power station joint enterprises). Various areas can buy or sell their enterprises through consultations. The systems which stipulate that internal trade is dominated by the Ministry of Commerce and the supply and marketing cooperatives and that foreign trade is exclusively governed by the Ministry of Foreign Trade should gradually be changed. At present it is necessary to expand the channels of circulation and encourage competition. Otherwise we will not be able to break with the bureaucratic work style of "official trade."

Capitalist countries regard free competition as a motive force for developing the economy, encouraging enterprises to constantly raise their technical level and improve their administrative management so that they can produce products which will meet the demands of the market and defeat their competitors. After the creation of monopoly organizations had become widespread, many countries promulgate "antimonopoly bills" to properly protect medium and small enterprises, so that free competition would continue to play its role as a motive force. This is a

necessary measure to prevent the decline of the economy. Members of the economic community have removed their tariff barriers to encourage free trade within the community. This is an inevitable outcome of the high degree of socialization of the economy. We can learn much from what they have done. Of course, ours is a socialist country, and our level of economic development is comparatively low. Therefore, we should continue to implement the policy of exercising control over foreign trade. (It is better that foreign trade not be exclusively governed by the Ministry of Foreign Trade but run by the areas concerned and cooperative enterprises which are organized by the Ministry of Foreign Trade.) This will help safeguard economic independence.

Various trades and services as well as enterprises will be forced to reform or reorganize as a result of competition. Otherwise they will be eliminated. Will this lead to a succession of bankruptcies of medium and small enterprises? Such a possibility can be averted. The best way to deal with this problem is to encourage integration. A tiny number of enterprises which lacked natural resources, wasted energy and produced low-quality and expensive products were forced to stop their production or merge with some advanced enterprises, because they could not be reformed. Most of the medium and small enterprises can exist independently, and some of them can be integrated with large enterprises. Due to the development of specialized coordination, many big factories in capitalist countries rally a large number of small factories around them. These small factories produce various kinds of spare parts and fittings for them. Many small factories are willing to coordinate with the big ones in order to insure their constant production. Ours is a socialist country. So long as we make use of our favorable conditions, it is easier for us to organize the division of labor and coordination between big and small enterprises. We can absolutely avoid the possibility of "big fish swallowing little ones." The main reason why we failed to promote the division of labor and coordination between big and small factories was that some of our factories belonged to several departments of the central authorities, and some were owned by the provincial, municipal and county governments. In addition, some were factories under "big collective ownership" and some were enterprises under "small collective ownership." They all adopted bureaucratic administrative management methods and neglected economic law. After the establishment of integrated companies, the participating enterprises still experienced interference from their own leading administrative organs. As a result, it was impossible for the integrated companies concerned to follow a unified direction. So long as we reform the present economic management system and free the enterprises from unreasonable interference, this kind of integration can be fully realized.

Along with the rapid development of local industries and industries run by communes and production brigades, contradictions arose between producers of agricultural products and raw materials and processing factories. Communes demanded that products which were in excess of state

quotas (such as tobacco leaves, silkworm cocoons and so forth) be processed by themselves. They even sold low-quality products to the state and kept the better ones for their own use. As a result, the amount of high-grade products produced by processing factories dropped. This was detrimental to both exports and domestic markets. The British-American Tobacco Company in old China integrated cigarette factories in Shanghai and Qingdao with tobacco-producing areas such as Xuchang in Henan, Pangzi in Shandong, Fengyang in Anhui and so forth to produce various kinds of famous-brand cigarettes. Now the production of cigarettes and tobacco leaves is governed by light industry bureaus and the supply and marketing cooperatives of several municipalities and counties. In addition, tobacco-producing areas have set up their own small cigarette factories to produce poor-quality cigarettes. As a result, the output of famous-brand cigarettes produced in Shanghai and Qingdao has dropped due to a lack of raw materials. All this runs counter to the direction of development of large-scale and socialized production. Under the present conditions, the most effective way to solve these contradictions is to encourage integration (coordination). Apart from organizing integrated companies, communes and production brigades should be allowed to send their raw materials above state quotas to the state-run factories for processing and to share the profits. To produce more chemical fertilizer and iron and steel, many areas set up small-scale factories and iron and steel plants. These projects caused them enormous losses. From now on we should encourage various areas to invest in large-scale factories. In so doing, apart from sharing the profits, they will get more chemical fertilizer and iron and steel. Various localities will avoid setting up small factories which waste tremendous amounts of electricity and coal and produce low-quality and expensive products. Due to the implementation of the system of overall financial supply and profit sharing, localities and enterprises will get more funds. If we do not exercise leadership over them, more overlapping enterprises which exceed actual market demand will be set up. They will seize raw materials, coal, electric power and markets. This will cause the state enormous losses. Therefore, under the guidance of the state plans we should encourage the integration of enterprises run by the central and local authorities and the integration of enterprises operated by provinces, municipalities and counties as well as small and large collective units. The funds of various localities, enterprises, communes and production brigades should be reasonably utilized, and the barriers between trades, areas and ownership should also be removed to avoid unnecessary waste due to the establishment of overlapping enterprises. Taking the road of integration is probably a matter of orientation.

At present there are more than 300,000 industrial enterprises under ownership by the whole people and about 100,000,000 collective enterprises throughout the country. Some of them should be reasonably reorganized on a voluntary and mutually beneficial basis. The effective way to do this is to integrate or join them on a voluntary and mutually beneficial basis.

In this way they will share profits and products according to a fixed ratio. There are many neighborhood factories in Shanghai and other cities. Their production has increased tenfold and more over the past 30 years, but they are unable to expand their factory buildings. Now, apart from carrying out integration and reorganization in cities, they cooperate with factories run by communes and production brigades in the suburban areas. They transfer some simple workshops to the enterprises run by communes and production brigades and use the land, factory buildings and labor force of those communes and production brigades. In addition, they send technical and administrative personnel to help them. Thus, the production in these enterprises can be continued and concentration in the city eased. This also promotes industrial development in the rural areas. They will gradually be developed into new socialist rural areas which combine both agriculture and industry. Beijing and Tianjin have also reformed their industrial and economic structure by joining, integrating and reorganizing the enterprises concerned. Many of their successful experiences are worth learning from.

Integrated complexes should adopt diversified management forms, such as joint investment, coordination in running factories, processing of raw materials provided by customers, trade on a compensation basis and so forth. The enterprises concerned can be combined into a company, integrated complex or joint enterprise in light of their economic interests. It is undesirable for the higher authorities to establish companies by simply adopting administrative means, because this practice runs counter to the principle of free will, mutual benefit and an effective economic management system. At present, due to the fact that we still lack experience, it is more proper to develop such integrated complexes from bottom to top, from small to big and from simple to more complicated. We should, first of all, organize some loosely integrated complexes and subsequently expand them steadily. It is more suitable to organize some trades (such as the machine building industry) into a specialized integrated complex, but it is preferable that some other trades (such as the textile industry) be operated independently. The administrative section of an integrated company is responsible for coordinating the relations between various factories and for serving these factories. Factories participating in a specialized integrated complex should still assume sole responsibility for their profits and losses. They are allowed to establish business relations with some other enterprises so long as they fulfill the contract of coordination. Joint corporations (such as textile corporations) formed by independent enterprises can make an overall arrangement for themselves and allocate some of the profits to build up a common fund. In so doing they will help some factories carry out technical innovations or renew their obsolete equipment. It is unnecessary for some trades (such as the food industry, clothing industry and furniture manufacturing industry) which rely mainly on manual operations to organize a corporation. They should still pursue decentralized management. In present-day developed capitalist countries there are tendencies of both centralized and decentralized management.

There are a great number of small factories and shops which are operated independently. It is unnecessary to get all trade organized, because this will lead to useless waste.

#### 4. Establish Economic Centers, Develop Transprovincial Corporations

The reform of the economic structure, aside from solving the problem of the vertical relationship between the higher and the lower levels, more importantly deals with solving the problem of the horizontal relationship between production and demand. For this we must make full use of the role of the market under the guidance of the plans. We must change our economic organization according to the need of commodity circulation and establish transprovincial or transregional economic relationships. Historically, big, medium-size and small cities emerged as the centers of economic contacts with the development of a commodity economy. The original economic centers emerged gradually with the development of the economy. They conformed to the objective needs of economic development. Since the socialist transformation of capitalist commerce and trade we have disrupted the original economic channels and gradually substituted administrative centers for economic centers. If the economic contacts between Shanghai and southern Jiangsu have to be channeled through Nanjing and the economic contacts between Shanghai and the Liaodong Peninsula have to be channeled through Shenyang, this will surely complicate the procedure and increase the costs, resulting in a great waste of time and money. Since the third plenary session put forth the policy of combining regulation by planning and regulation by market mechanism, even big cities have started to play their roles as economic centers. For example, Shanghai followed the example of the "Guangzhou trade fair" and experimented with conducting a meeting for ordering which dealt mainly with capital goods. At this meeting companies and enterprises from various areas sent representatives to sign contracts for supply and marketing, thus enabling direct contact between production and demand. The difficult problem caused by the long-standing practice of concentrating ordering in two big batches every year, which resulted in the inability to meet the needs of the factories and the phenomenon of "purchasing officers flying everywhere," is now beginning to be solved.

Shanghai also experimented with holding capital goods trade fairs (now called exhibition and marketing fairs). Bureaus, companies and enterprises can all put up lists or advertisements giving details of the goods which have been stored in their warehouses for a long time and can sell them at the fair. Bureaus, companies and enterprises in need of these goods need not go through the red tape of submitting applications to the Goods and Materials Bureau, nor do they have to send purchasing officers running everywhere. They can easily satisfy their needs at the fair. Many commodities previously were in short supply, and the Goods and Materials Bureau could not supply them, but in reality various warehouses all had small quantities in stock. If they had been pooled

together, they could have been sufficient to satisfy demands. Those in need can buy as much as they want. This is very convenient. For years various bureaus, companies and enterprises had been applying for more materials than they needed. These excess materials were usually stored and left untouched for 10 or 20 years. Through the fairs these goods again saw the light of day and could be used again. In the past, capital goods were "dead when they reached their destination." Now, through regulation by the market mechanism, they are brought to life again. Similar organizations have also appeared in such big cities as Beijing and Tianjin. Of course, they have just started. Later there might be a need to erect buildings for trade fairs and for bureaus, companies and big enterprises in various areas. They can have their offices here and constantly supply each other with what the others need. Beijing is planning to build an "international trade center." Why can we not build a number of "domestic trade centers"?

In the past there were many economic centers all over the country. Shanghai was the economic center of the southeastern region. It catered to the needs of the whole country. Tianjin was the economic center of Northern China. It catered to the needs of northwestern and northeastern China. Guangzhou was the economic center of southern China, and it catered to southwestern China. Shenyang was the economic center of the northeast, while Wuhan and Chongqing were the economic centers of central China and the southwest, respectively, and Lanzhou was the economic center of the northwest. Under these economic centers were many smaller economic centers. According to the peculiarities of various economic centers, they could also be the converging and dispersing points for great quantities of certain products. These economic centers were formed according to objective conditions (such as production and transportation conditions). They are different from man-made administrative divisions and have great adaptability and flexibility. These economic centers exist. We only have to make use of them and do not have to build new ones. As to how to make use of them, on the one hand we can refer back to historical experiences; on the other we must, of course, adapt ourselves to the socialist system and the development of the economy over the past 30 years. We only have to point out this direction and each of the localities can devise its own methods.

The various areas should not only expand the channels of circulation but also establish links in production. Shanghai has already organized 10 transprovincial corporations and engaged in joint management with factories in other provinces, achieving very good results. Shanghai is the largest industrial base in our country. It has great potential in terms of capital, equipment and personnel. However, the development of industry in that place has reached the saturation point and should not be expanded any further. Therefore, the direction of industrial development in Shanghai in the future is to develop top-grade products and leave the lower-grade products to other areas and to engage in outward expansion and go to other provinces to establish transprovincial corporations. It can

also open up foreign markets. Shanghai looks for materials. It can go to other provinces to establish production bases for raw materials. Last year Shanghai went out to other provinces to establish five joint-venture paper mills. These paper mills basically satisfy the demand for paper for writing, printing and wrapping in Shanghai. Shanghai looks timber. It can go to the mountainous areas of the northeast and the southwest to invest in joint-venture timber processing mills. It looks leather, so it can go to the northwest of Inner Mongolia to invest in joint-venture tanning plants. Today Tianjin, Beijing and other places are also preparing to invest in other places to establish transprovincial corporations. This will be beneficial for both industrially advanced and backward areas. In the past the method of helping backward areas through financial allocations could not solve the problem of technology. Therefore, the outcome of transregional joint ventures can be even better. If we welcome investments from advanced capitalist countries in our country, backward areas must also welcome investments in their localities from advanced areas.

Will the establishment of economic centers and the development of transprovincial corporations magnify the economic gap between the advanced and the backward areas? This could happen for a period of time. But from the long-term point of view this is an unavoidable course in narrowing the gap between different areas. Development in America began in the 13 states in the northeast. After more than 100 years of developing to the South and to the west, with enterprises in advanced areas investing in backward areas, various areas all developed to a very high economic level. The level of economic development in the backward areas of our country is still a long way from that of the advanced areas. In the past various areas could only invest within the boundaries of their own area and could not extend development to other places. This was not beneficial to narrowing the gap between different areas. If we do not make use of the advantages of the advanced areas and encourage them to develop the backward areas, but instead insist on the backward areas' developing self-reliantly or through the assistance of the central authorities, it will be more difficult to narrow the gap between various areas. Naturally, economic cooperation between areas must follow the principle of voluntariness and mutual benefit. Advanced areas have the duty to assist the backward areas. At present the industrially advanced areas invest in backward areas mainly to help these areas develop raw material production and primary processing of raw materials to satisfy the urgent needs of the advanced areas for raw materials and primary products, not to make more profits. At the same time, it would be very beneficial for the development of backward areas if they would make use of the capital and technology of advanced areas to develop and utilize their rich natural resources and make full use of their strong points. Even after the overall development of the national economy has been attained, there will still be a division of labor between different areas. The division of labor among nations will always exist, and so will the division of labor between different areas within our country.

The establishment of economic centers and transprovincial corporations could be an effective way to establish connections between different areas in circulation and production, to break away from fragmentation laid down by old conventions and restrictions imposed by the hierarchical structure and to shift from administrative management to economic management. In this way, enterprises in various areas and various sectors can do away with the restrictions of old conventions and the hierarchical structure in order to link with each other according to the natural needs of economic development. At present there is still considerable resistance to structural reform. The main reason is that the existing rules and systems contradict the new management system being tried out in pilot projects. Our pilot projects have already made some breakthroughs in the existing rules and systems. We must seriously sum up our experience, extend these breakthroughs in a planned manner and gradually approach the overhaul of the existing rules and systems. At present the central economic management organs are too unwieldy, and there are too many departments. Party and state organs at all levels have also been interfering too much in economic activities. This has made it very difficult for enterprises (including companies) to manage economics in accordance with objective economic laws, particularly in accordance with the requirements of socialized mass production. Therefore, as we reform the economic structure there is also a need to reform our system of administrative management, simplify administrative organization and change the irrational phenomenon of the party replacing the government. The party must place emphasis on grasping leadership in line, principles and policies, while the government should serve economic development better (such as developing urban management, social welfare and culture and education). Neither must exceed its own functions and meddle in the other's affairs.

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FIRMLY AND CORRECTLY IMPLEMENT THE POLICY OF 'LETTING A HUNDRED FLOWERS BLOSSOM AND A HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT CONTEND'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 80 pp 16-21, 34

[Article by RED FLAG contributing commentator]

[Text] It has been 24 years since our party first put forth the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." In these 24 years the implementation of this policy has not been smooth sailing. The several rounds of magnification of class struggle after 1957, including several occasions when massive and erroneous criticisms of academic and literary and art questions were conducted, all seriously undermined the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." Particularly during the 10 years of great turmoil, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" totally eliminated the "double hundred" policy and implemented the feudal-fascist "all-round dictatorship," which resulted in extremely serious consequences. Historical experiences have taught the great masses of people, the broad masses of literary and art workers and our party a lesson and made us feel more deeply the importance of the "double hundred" policy. Without "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" there will be no socialist spiritual civilization. This thesis has been proved by numerous facts.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," literary and art circles have broken away from the shackles of fascist despotism. Under the guidance of the correct line of the party, they have persisted in the orientation of serving the people and serving socialism and have renewed the implementation of the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," achieving remarkable results. In the recent period, while affirming the great achievements gained in the past 3 years, literary and art circles have also studied the problems that emerged in the process of advance and tried to overcome the shortcomings that appeared in the process of advance. Some comrades have come to have the following doubt: At present, do we still have to continue to implement the "double hundred" policy? We think that implementation of the "double hundred" policy is unshakable. The most

Urgent task in literary and art work today is still to firmly and correctly implement the "double hundred" policy.

### I. A Long-term, Fundamental Policy

When the "double hundred" policy was first put forth, Comrade Mao Zedong solemnly proclaimed, on behalf of the party Central Committee, that it was a long-term and fundamental policy of the party in the realm of ideology and culture.

Our literature and art is an important component part of the whole socialist undertaking. It has the solemn responsibilities of raising the level of political consciousness and morale of the people, molding the new socialist man, broadening the cultural and intellectual horizons of the people and satisfying the esthetic needs of the people in various aspects. Serving the people and serving socialism are the unchangeable orientation of literary and art work. To develop socialist literature and art we can only adopt the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." This is determined by the nature of the socialist system and the objective law of development of literature and art.

The "double hundred" policy was put forth in view of the urgent need for the country to rapidly develop science and culture and on the basis of recognizing the fact that all types of contradictions still exist in socialist society. In socialist society the people have the right to become masters. They are the masters of the country, so naturally they are also the masters of literature and art. Socialist literature and art is the people's own undertaking. It is literature and art with the most popular character in history. How can the development and creation of this literature and art be monopolized and taken over by a few people? Undoubtedly, we must go all out to mobilize the masses and mobilize all positive factors to put to good use the talents and wisdom of the broad masses of professional and nonprofessional literary and art workers and absorb the finest fruits of human culture to the utmost extent. The "double hundred" policy is the expression of socialist democracy and the party's mass line in the realm of ideology and culture. The democracy and mass line in literary and art work that we are talking about is not the simple subordination of the minority to the majority, much less simply practicing group creation. The division of labor between physical and mental labor still exists in socialist society. Artistic production is undertaken primarily by mental workers who are professional literary and art workers. Literary and artistic creation is inseparable from the mental process, and concrete literary and artistic works can only be freely produced as the brainchild of each writer or artist. Implementation of the "double hundred" policy is to safeguard the right to engage in free creation and research in art. It also safeguards the right of academics among the people to bring into full play the people's individuality and creativity and to rely on the free creation of the masses.

to build and develop literature and art. It also guarantees the masses freedom to scrutinize and criticize literature and art. Carrying out democracy and relying on the masses are the dependable guarantees for the rapid development of artistic productivity and the continuous correct orientation of our literature and art.

Socialist literature and art in our country was developed under the leadership of the CCP. It has developed by pooling the talents and wisdom of the masses, absorbing the finest fruits of human civilization and struggling with all kinds of old ideas and old culture of the exploiting classes and against its own shortcomings. Since the socialist transformation has been basically completed, the exploiting classes no longer exist as a social class. However, the residue of the exploiting classes has survived, and class struggle is still going on within certain limits. In the realm of ideology and culture, the contradiction between socialist ideology and feudal and capitalist ideology will exist for a long time, and the influence of the ideology of the exploiting classes will also remain among the masses for a long time. Even among the people, due to differences in level of consciousness, various contradictions will continuously emerge. These contradictions must be correctly resolved by "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." Historically, the rulers of the exploiting class used coercive methods to eliminate dissenting ideas and establish the ruling position of their own class. But practice has shown that such methods were foolish. They usually led to the results which were opposite to what they had wished to accomplish. Things in the art and academic realm cannot be established by coercive methods, neither can their influence be eliminated by coercive methods. Only the method of reasoning can be adopted to resolve questions in the spiritual realm. We must use this method in winning over the ideology of the exploiting classes, overcoming its influence over the people and handling differences on artistic and academic questions within the ranks of revolutionary literature and art. The theories of the proletariat rely on the power of truth to conquer people; the literature and art of the proletariat must rely on a high level of ideology, realism and artistic achievement to affect people. As long as theory embodies truth and art embodies the true, the good and the beautiful, it will be able to move people deeply, take hold of the people and occupy ideological positions.

The reason why we persist in the "double hundred" policy is that we firmly believe in the power of truth of Marxism, and we firmly believe in the masses' enthusiasm for socialism. Marxism epitomizes the objective law of historical development and expresses the most basic interests of the people. Carrying out democracy and relying on the masses, in the final analysis, is beneficial to extending the ideological positions of Marxism and persisting in the socialist orientation of literature and art. Some comrades are worried about whether implementation of the "double hundred" principle, after the 10 years of catastrophe which distorted the features of Marxism and trampled on the principles of socialism, will bring about

ideological confusion. It is true that, due to the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the "leftist" errors in history, some people's thinking is ossified or semiossified, in the first place, and that some people have certain doubts about the four basic principles. All this has to find expression in the realm of literature and art. However, is not such a phenomenon closely related to the long period of ideological confinement and the undermining of the "double hundred" policy? To solve these problems, the primary and most important step is to improve the party's leadership in literary and art work, resolutely implement the "double hundred" policy, sum up historical experiences and study new conditions and new problems through exploration and discussion among the masses, use the Marxist viewpoint to answer the questions raised in the course of practice and the doubts in the minds of the people, and make outstanding works and performances take over the position temporarily occupied by undesirable works and performances. Only in this manner can erroneous thinking be effectively rectified. This represents a struggle. The work of leading this struggle is much more complicated and difficult than the method of simply using administrative orders. But there is no other way. (Of course, this does not mean that administrative orders are not to be used even under extreme conditions.) If all kinds of ideas are not allowed to be expressed and if problems are solved by coercive methods, this will only multiply the problems and make the contradictions more acute. We must see that our writers and artists and other people who engage in spiritual production will gain much from this struggle and that the great majority of people will remodel their subjective world more consciously in artistic and academic practice and maintain the correct political orientation of their spiritual products more consciously in order to conform to the interests of socialism and the people. We must also see that, after the great sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," although some ideological confusion was created, on the other hand it tempered the broad masses of people. There are now more people who are concerned about the fate of the party and the people and who devote their efforts to reflecting on social problems. This is a very desirable thing. Our masses are reasonable and realistic people. In the end the majority of them will be able to accept everything that conforms to the interests of the people and to objective truth. We must have unwavering faith in Marxism, firmly believe in the positive effects the "double hundred" policy can have on the development of Marxism and have strong faith in the masses. Then we will not waver in our implementation of the "double hundred" policy.

Inasmuch as the "double hundred" policy is a long-term basic policy, it must be implemented unwaveringly during the entire period of socialism. The painful lesson we learned from the past is that, although some comrades verbally acknowledged that the "double hundred" principle is a long-term basic policy, they did not persist in their policy whenever there were storms. Or whenever the situation in the literary and artistic front was relatively lively, they took liveliness to be a great storm and hastened to impose "restrictions." Today the "double hundred" policy

has been written into the constitution. This is a guarantee for the implementation of the policy. We must know that suppressing the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" among the people is not only a foolish act, contrary to the law of art, but also an unlawful act which violates the democratic rights of citizens. We must never engage in foolish and unlawful acts. We accumulated many historical experiences and paid a heavy price for them. We ought to learn how to implement this policy better.

## ii. Correctly Deal With Competition and Struggle

The "double hundred" policy is the application of the law of unity of opposites in dialectics to the realm of ideology and culture. Implementing the "double hundred" policy means developing socialist literature and art in the course of competition and struggle. The correct handling of competition and struggle is an extremely important question. If we eliminate competition and struggle in the "double hundred" policy, thinking that we can forgo all controls in implementing the policy, and if we do not develop the positive and advanced things and overcome the negative and backward things through competition and struggle, this will amount to implementing the liberal policy instead of the "double hundred" policy. Then we will commit rightist errors. If we look at all competition and struggle as class struggle or even as struggle between the enemy and ourselves, and if we use simple and crude methods to handle competition and struggle, using administrative orders to arbitrarily support one side and suppress another side, this will amount to substituting despotism for the "double hundred" policy. Then we will commit "leftist" errors.

In the process of implementation of the "double hundred" policy, different works and opinions are bound to appear. One type of difference is the content, form, style and school in creation and performance. These differences are always necessary. There is only one direction for the development of socialist literature and art. It is to strive to serve the people and serve socialism. This is its general character. But generality resides in particularity. Without particularity there is no generality. The content of socialism needs to be expressed through rich and colorful subjects, types, forms and styles. Life is varied and colorful, the masses have diverse interests, writers have different personalities and literature and art as a reflection of social life naturally must also be varied and colorful. The more varieties there are, the more fully and broadly is the general character of socialist literature and art expressed. This diversification is required precisely by the development of socialist literature and art itself. Works with different content, forms and styles and of different schools inevitably will compete or even "struggle" with each other in the process of "letting a hundred flowers blossom." This kind of competition and "struggle" is a relationship of helping each other forward and learning from others' strong points to offset one's weaknesses. It is an inevitable course in the flourishing of socialist literature and art. Another type of

difference is that between the true, the good and the beautiful and the false, the bad and the ugly, or that between the correct and the erroneous. Some of them have the characteristic of class struggle, but not all of them. When people make mistakes, the root cause may be found in their class nature or their level of consciousness. With good intentions, one may also make this or that mistake or even make a series of mistakes due to the limitation of one's level of consciousness. The emergence of this latter type of difference is also inevitable, and it is a phenomenon in line with objective laws.

Some comrades always hope that erroneous things will not emerge. To them, a "relaxation" of controls must have one ideological prerequisite, that is, that only things which conform to the correct ideological prerequisite can be allowed to emerge. Their wish is understandable, but this is unrealistic and wishful thinking. Our "relaxation" is "relaxation" among the people and "relaxation" within the limits of the constitution and the legal system. We do not allow a relaxation of control over counterrevolutionary elements and things which contravene the constitution and the legal system. But among the people, and within the limits of the safeguards of the constitution and the legal system, correct and erroneous things must all be allowed to emerge. Not allowing erroneous things to emerge is not in line with the law of development of human consciousness and the law of development of art.

The Marxist theory of knowledge tells us that human consciousness does not develop in a straight line but in a curve. The cognition of truth has to undergo the repeated process of practice to consciousness and consciousness to practice, making a series of mistakes and meeting a series of setbacks, after which we get nearer to objective laws.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Our understanding of the objective world necessarily involves a process. In the beginning we do not understand, or do not completely understand, and it is only through repeated practice that we are led to achievements and victories, tumbles and setbacks, and through the comparison of successes and failures that it is possible to gradually develop complete or relatively complete understanding." ("Talk at an Enlarged Work Conference of the CCP Central Committee")

Literature and art as the reflection of social life is the depiction of the writers' and artists' cognition of the objective world. Due to objective or subjective reasons, this cognition is sometimes erroneous. Therefore, sometimes some bad or even erroneous works are written, and they depict social life in a lopsided and distorted manner. This is true not only for different writers and artists but also for different works of the same writer or artist. Errors usually are the forerunner of correctness. Not allowing the publication of erroneous things and taking detours and demanding that a correct and perfect piece be produced in one stroke will only make matters worse. When we say correct, we do not mean absolutely correct. It has to be further developed and further improved. Therefore, we can still voice our opinions concerning correct things or criticize them. The reason why we implement the

"double hundred" policy is in order to use competition and struggle to encourage and call on literary and art workers to take the correct attitude and use the correct techniques to depict the rich and colorful real life and create more and better works. This will be in line with the law of development of human consciousness.

We are a socialist country. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought are the theoretical basis which guides our thought. Our party advocates and encourages writers and artists to study and apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in their practice of creation. But if we think that once we have the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought people can easily grasp objective laws, engage in creating the true, the good and the beautiful and avoid mistakes, we cannot be more wrong. How can there be such an easy thing in this world? Today people of the whole country are engaged in building modernization with one heart and one mind. In this great undertaking, literary and art workers shoulder a great historical responsibility to the people of the whole country. In developing socialist literature and art in the new period they have to inherit the fine tradition of revolutionary literature and art but cannot simply retrace the road taken in the 17 years before the Cultural Revolution. A new task confronts them in the fields of both theory and creation. How can they possibly scale new heights without first undergoing a series of explorations and trials? We must not only allow others to make mistakes but also admit that we, too, can make mistakes and be ready at all times to correct errors. Only in this way can we minimize our detours and mistakes. We must encourage people to be bold in exploring and innovating and to not fear setbacks and errors in cultivating new frontiers. Only in this way can there be progress and breakthroughs. Sticking to old rules is very safe, but in searching for truth one has to take risks. Should we not actively support and encourage the latter attitude for the sake of the progress of the socialist literary and art undertakings?

Of course, literary and art workers must try to make as few mistakes as possible. Erroneous things certainly must be criticized in a realistic manner. But erroneous things also have a dual character. First, they can serve as negative examples and enlighten people. They can bring out questions and make people think about those questions and find answers to them. Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly warned: "It is a dangerous policy to prohibit people from coming into contact with the false, the ugly and the hostile and with idealism and metaphysics.... It will lead to mental deterioration, one-track minds and unpreparedness to face the world and meet challenges." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 346) Second, as Engels said: "Truth and error, like all determinations of thought which move in polar opposites, have absolute validity only in an extremely limited field." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 130) "That which is recognized now as true has also its latent false side which will later manifest itself, just as that which is now regarded as false has also its true side by virtue of which it could previously be regarded as true." ("Selected Works of Marx and

Engels," Vol 4, p 240). The antithetical relationship between truth and error is relative. Generally speaking, erroneous understanding is not imagination made up by the mind. It is usually the blowing up and exaggeration of one particular aspect of objective reality. Therefore, it has elements of truth in it and some useful material for thought in it. The correct and the erroneous in the realm of art and academic subjects are not that clearcut. It is very usual that what is correct has some elements of error in it and what is erroneous has some elements of correctness in it. Engels praised Goethe as the "Zeus on Mount Olympus," but he pointed out that he has the "smell of the mediocre German" on his body. Lenin praised Tolstoy as the "mirror of the Russian Revolution," but he also pointed out that the so-called "Tolstoyism" is very harmful. Therefore, we must not overreact when we see works with shortcomings or even errors. Much less should we abandon the "double hundred" policy just to prevent erroneous things from appearing.

We must see that people's understanding of things must undergo a process from a relatively erroneous and lopsided viewpoint to a relatively correct and comprehensive one. We cannot skip this process and wish to attain the correct without going through the erroneous. On the contrary, we must take a realistic attitude, recognize this process and strive to attain the correct by constantly overcoming the erroneous. Therefore, we must take a cautious attitude in dealing with the problem of right and wrong in art and academic subjects. First, we must safeguard the right to express different opinions and publish different works, allowing the publication of erroneous things; second, we must distinguish between the correct and the erroneous by full discussions and repeated testing in practice; third, in dealing with erroneous things in the spiritual realm we must try to overcome them by reasoning and not by simply taking coercive measures; and fourth, we must concretely analyze concrete phenomena in literature and art and must not simply affirm or repudiate everything. When exposing errors in literature and art we must pay attention to the positive elements they might contain. When affirming correct things we must also not cover up the possible shortcomings they might have. In short, we must wage the struggle between the correct and the erroneous on the scientific basis of the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge. Failure to draw a clearcut line between what is correct and what is erroneous, failure to wage a struggle of the true, the good and the beautiful against the false, the bad and the ugly, and looking at what is correct or erroneous as absolute and vulgarizing this concept and using simplistic and crude methods to deal with the struggle between the two are all contrary to the party's "double hundred" policy and are erroneous.

### III. Strengthening and Improving Party Leadership

The Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the party advocated the strengthening and improvement of the party's leadership. In the field of literary and art work, firmly and correctly implementing

the "double hundred" policy is an important issue in strengthening and improving the party's leadership in the realm of literature and art.

The party Central Committee demanded that there be no arbitrary interference in literary and artistic creation. This by no means signifies that the responsibilities of the leaders of literary and art work have been reduced or abolished. On the contrary, they have been augmented. The responsibility of a leader does not lie in taking the place of the writer to determine the details of each work or taking the place of the critic and the masses to judge the right and wrong of each concrete occurrence in literature and art. The leadership must work in accordance with the law of art and the line, principles and policy. This is attained mainly through effective political and ideological work. The responsibility of the leadership lies in persevering in the party's line, principles and policy guiding literary and art workers to consciously raise their ideological level, go deep into a life of struggle, widen their horizons and temper their artistic skills to fulfill the requirements for creating socialist literature and art. Their responsibility also lies in implementing the "double hundred" policy, mobilizing all positive factors in literary and art work, launching a competition and campaign for blossoming and contending in literary and artistic creation and theory, defending and developing the guiding position of Marxism and extending the socialist ideological position. As to concrete artistic creation and academic viewpoints, leaders most certainly can and should express their opinions, but they must abide by the principle of "everyone is equal before the truth" and take an attitude of equality in discussing and consulting with the artists. The right and wrong in art and academics does not lie in who has a higher position or who is more powerful. It lies in who conforms to truth, and truth, in the final analysis, can only be tested in practice. The responsibility of the leadership lies in making socialist literary and artistic undertakings flourish. The criterion for judging how good is the leadership work of a certain literary and art unit is not whether this unit has published a questionable thing. It is impossible for any unit not to have any problems. As long as the unit rectifies itself when problems arise, then it is quite all right. The criterion is how well the principles and policies of the party have been implemented, how well the political and ideological work has been conducted, how well the enthusiasm of the masses has been mobilized and how well the artistic production in this unit has been done. In the past, under the impact of the theory and practice of the magnification of class struggle, some leading comrades in literary and art work put the emphasis of their work on grasping the so-called "new trends in class struggle" and discovering "enemy activities." As long as they found some so-called questionable things, they were considered to have done a remarkable job. This resulted in rampant searches for "enemy activities" even when there were none and in dragging many good things out as "enemy activities." Thus, a tense political atmosphere was created. It was not important to make contributions in art; the more important thing was not to make any political mistakes.

Socialist art to make continual innovation; and everyone can vary of creative emerging. The objective of socialist literary and art work is to satisfy the growing needs of the people in their cultural life. If we only concentrate on watching out for "easy activation" and do not produce our works, how are we to satisfy the needs of the masses? Leadership in literature and art should put the emphasis of work on making socialist artistic productions flourish and on devoting all means to cultivate talented people and produce more works. Special efforts must be devoted to discovering outstanding works and talent; we must reward those leaders who work hard to master the law of art, efforts to implement the party's principles and policies and make contributions in promoting the production of outstanding artistic works. We must criticize and help those who are inefficient and make suitable readjustments for those comrades who are really not suited for the job.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," in the process of bringing order out of chaos and emancipation of the mind, there have been improvements in leadership work in literature and art. But compared with the vigorously developing trend of socialist literature and art and the demands made by the party Central Committee, quite a gap exists. For one thing, the tendency toward subjectivity, arbitrariness, oversimplification and crudeness has survived to a certain degree. For another, the tendency toward total liberation exists in some units. What is worthy of attention is that in the recent period the literary and art circles have been striving to resolve and overcome problems and shortcomings encountered in the process of progress, while striving to carry on the great achievements attained in the past 3 years. This is very normal. Inasmuch as literature and art is advancing, it will produce both accomplishments and shortcomings. Continuously carrying on the achievements and overcoming the shortcomings is a normal phenomenon in literary and artistic life. But some comrades have a mistaken understanding of all this. They think that there is big trouble again and that "controls" should be imposed again. So they have started to designate forbidden zones and to prohibit free literary expression. A few individuals have even started to wave the big stick in order to brutally attack writers and their works. Some comrades have been zigzagging from left to right. When the policy is "flex" the controls, they do away with all controls. When the policy is strengthening the leadership, they erect all kinds of controls. They either do not practice any restriction at all or are very inflexible. They go from one extreme to the other. The reason why there is such a tendency among the majority of those who do have such a tendency is that they lack a proper understanding of the "double hundred" policy and lack experience in implementing this policy. But there is also a small minority who have doubts or are even hostile toward the correct line and policy of the party. When they do away with all restrictions, they are waiting to see problems and trouble come up. Once they see erroneous things emerging, they exaggerate them and consider nonessential things as essential ones. They hold that the emancipation of the mind has created great trouble and that the "double hundred" policy has been

too lenient. So they negate the necessity and correctness of the emanicipation of the mind and the "double hundred" policy and restore the "leftist" set of methods. We must oppose both simplistic and crude methods and total denials; we must not attach importance to one tendency alone while ignoring another nor oppose one extreme to the extent that we go to another extreme. We must not exaggerate the negative side of literary and art work even though negative things do exist. We must take measures to deal with them, actively do our work and conduct serious and down-to-earth criticism.

For a long time, substituting subjectiveness and arbitrariness for objective laws has been a major weakness of leadership work. Some comrades think that since we have control of political power we can use the power in our hands to change everything and create everything, including changing and creating literature and art according to our subjective wishes and whims. This inevitably leads to issuing blind commands and oversimplification and crudeness in the work of leading literature and art. Stalin once criticized the theory of the omnipotence of political power which was popular among some people in the Soviet Union. He said: "They are stunned by the tremendous achievements of the Soviet regime, and the extraordinary success of the Soviet system made them dizzy with euphoria. Therefore, they think that the Soviet regime is 'omnipotent' and that everything is 'easy' for the regime. It can even eliminate scientific laws and create new laws." ("Selected Works of Stalin," Vol 2, p 545) Does this tendency which Stalin discussed not exist among us to a different degree? Was it not developed to an extremely frightening level? This blindness in consciousness, combined with the long-existing feudal tradition in China, forms a leadership style of personal dictatorship which is divorced from reality, is divorced from the masses and is unscientific and undemocratic. This tendency, reflected in the realm of literature and art, undermines the atmosphere of democracy, stifles the vitality of socialist literature and art and impedes the smooth implementation of the "double hundred" policy. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" made use of this and further developed it viciously, bringing grave catastrophe.

Today, as we strive to create a high level of socialist material civilization, we must also strive to create a high level of socialist spiritual civilization. Our country, a great socialist country with a history of 5,000 years and a population of almost a billion, must create socialist literature and art worthy of our great people and our great nation. As long as we continue to emancipate the mind, persevere in the orientation of serving the people and serving socialism and unwaveringly persist in the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," we can certainly win new victories.

CONTINUE TO EMANCIPATE THE MIND, INTEGRATE THEORY WITH PRACTICE AND  
IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF PROPAGANDA

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 80 pp 22-29

[Excerpts of speeches delivered at the '1 July' forum sponsored by RED FLAG]

[Text] At the invitation of RED FLAG, on 1 July comrades of intellectual and theoretical circles in Beijing held a forum to air their views on problems of improving propaganda work and the quality of RED FLAG. Altogether 42 comrades attended the forum. Forum participants included Wang Renzhong, a member of the CCP Central Committee Secretariat and director of the Central Committee Propaganda Department, and Zhou Yang, deputy director of the Propaganda Department. Both delivered speeches. Presiding at the forum was Xiong Fu, chief editor of RED FLAG. Other participants who addressed the forum included Wu Liping, Feng Ting, Liu Zongzhuo, Wen Jiae, Zhang Jian, Xu Huqiao, Qian Junrui, Ma Peiven, Wang Ruoshui, De Lin, Zhang Tengxiao and Liu Keming. Comrade Liu Siwu sent over a prepared speech. Excerpts of speeches made by some comrades follow:

Xiong Fu:

On the occasion of the 59th anniversary of the founding of the CCP today, we take this opportunity to hold a forum. Comrades Wang Renzhong and Zhou Yang, along with many veterans, have been asked to attend. We hope to meet comrades of intellectual and theoretical circles in Beijing and to solicit their opinions on the propaganda work undertaken by RED FLAG at this stage. Through this medium we hope to strengthen our ties with intellectual and theoretical circles and secure their support and help.

Since resuming publication as a bimonthly last January, with the approval of the Propaganda Department, RED FLAG has now published 13 issues. In the past half year the journal has owed its progress, if any, to the concern shown and assistance given by comrades in intellectual and theoretical circles. On behalf of RED FLAG's staff, allow me to express my sincere thanks to you.

RED FLAG has devoted its issues of the past half year mainly to publishing economic construction, with articles on this subject taking up about 30 to 35 percent of the space. However, the journal has carried too relatively heavy theoretical articles that are rich in content and which have truly proceeded from reality, made use of a substantive mass of factual data, made serious efforts to conduct research, presented new problems relating to the complex economic life and offered solutions to them. This shows that we still do not have sufficient courage in matters relating to theory and that we lack an understanding of actual conditions. This means that we must work harder, strengthen investigation and study, improve the quality of propaganda and earnestly strive to realistically integrate theory with practice.

Much has to be done in upgrading the method of propaganda. We have taken heed of the need to discuss in a comrades way and to exchange views on an equal basis and within a certain sphere on theoretical problems relating to the party line, principles and policies. Such discussions will help to guide everyone in independently observing things, pondering problems, conducting independent scientific analyses and distinguishing right from wrong.

It is very gratifying to note that the four modernisations program has developed very rapidly and satisfactorily. As new problems and new things keep emerging from practice, we have to work hard in the field of propaganda relating to theory, provide scientific explanations for these new things and new problems and offer scientific answers to them. RED FLAG has not done well enough in this respect. It fails to meet the needs of the broad spectrum of readers. However, along with fraternal journals we are determined to tackle this task on the ideological front and do the best we can.

How to run RED FLAG well is primarily the responsibility of its entire staff. It is hoped that comrades in intellectual and theoretical circles will give the journal greater and increased support and will help by speaking without reservation at this forum and by criticising RED FLAG's published contents during the first half of this year, particularly material relating to theory, the quality of propaganda and the problems raised. I hope that comrades will offer their views on how to undertake propaganda work in the second half of this year, what problems the journal should take note of and what problems should be explained theoretically.

Wu Liping:

RED FLAG has improved over the last 1 or 2 years. Although the journal has reflected problems better than it did before, it still has not succeeded in turning itself into a popular and eagerly awaited publication. As a publication of the CCP Central Committee, a medium for propaganda and an organizer in a collective sense, RED FLAG in my view has not done

well enough, it should transmit the party line, principles and policies to the masses in a timely way, comprehensively and more skillfully. Let me cite my past experience in editing the journal JIEFANG in Yan'an. The journal was published for many years during the war of resistance against Japan. It played quite a significant role throughout the country as well as behind the enemy lines. Comrade Zhang Wentian was then chief editor, but in reality the chief editor was Comrade Mao Zedong. Apart from editing the journal, I ran all sorts of errands. In every issue of the journal Comrade Mao exercised control over everything from the main points and themes of propaganda to the style of writing. When one or two issues contained dull articles, he would say: Your style of editing is dull; I want to see some improvements. He rarely missed any important editorials or articles and often made changes in them. RED FLAG should be edited much better. We hope that the CCP Central Committee will take a firm hold of this journal and see to it that the party line, principles, policies and tasks are asserted at the right moment. If the CCP Central Committee is not directly concerned, we will be at a loss as to what should be emphasized, what should be given higher priority in each issue, in each half year and throughout the year, and we will not understand the true situation or know how to organize the forces in a timely way. Without the supervision of leading central organs, it will be difficult to run the publication of the Central Committee well. Since RED FLAG's circulation is large, it is hoped that the Secretariat and the Propaganda Department will take a firm hold of the journal and find ways to run it better.

The following are some suggestions for running RED FLAG well:

First of all, planning should be strengthened. What to publicize during the second half of this year has to be planned. This also applies to propaganda work aimed at the thinking of cadres and the masses. Leading organs may transmit the spirit of the Central Committee to units responsible for propaganda work, as now things may be explained in advance and preparations made. I have the impression that planning was done rather poorly in the past. Planning is necessary in fighting battles as well as in conducting propaganda. A major publication such as this one must have plans. In the past I helped to edit the journal JIEFANG. Comrade Mao Zedong explained the points to be emphasized for each issue, and these were then acted upon. I believe comrades of the Secretariat or the Propaganda Department naturally are more aware of current conditions. They should at least be asked to help draw up annual or biannual plans.

Second, the mass nature of the journal should be strengthened. The prevailing ideological problems of the masses and cadres should be explained. Problems that can be easily understood should be explained first, while those that we are not so sure of can be explained later. The problems which the masses ponder quite often, according to my own experience, include those relating to why the national economy has not yet made gains and why the superiority of the socialist system has not yet been brought about. Other unexplained problems involve the aggravation of class

struggles and the growing number of miscarriages of justice, and the question of why they have occurred and whether a recurrence of such mistakes can be prevented in the future. Yet another unexplained question concerns the correct understanding of the relationship between the socialist four modernizations and Marxism-Leninism. The questions of the masses should be answered.

Third, the journal should be strengthened organizationally. Many leading comrades in Beijing know how to write articles. In the past the work of organizing intellectual and theoretical circles was not done effectively. Organizing these forces so that they can contribute to running party newspapers and journals well consists of, for example, making available to these circles listings of selected subjects, calling on intellectuals and theoreticians or consulting with them and organizing them for study. When I was in Yanan I did precisely this chore. For example, I asked comrades from the front to write articles or Comrades Liu Shaoqi and Chen Yi to do the same, despite their busy schedules. Now that we have grown older, it is not necessary for us to do the writing ourselves. We can ask comrades from various quarters to contribute to the journal. That is why we have to draw up plans whereby writing assignments can be given to everybody. If we do so, we will be able to give full play to the role of party cadres, particularly comrades from various quarters in Beijing, in running the party journal well. Naturally, some comrades associated with RED FLAG are very energetic. However, relying solely on their energy is not enough, because coordination with various quarters is necessary. Once we are given substantial support by the masses, there will be more good articles available and we will be able to run the journal well.

Peng Ting:

RED FLAG, a journal of the CCP Central Committee, has been attracting great attention since its first publication in 1958. Is it possible to add some informative and interesting features to RED FLAG to supplement its articles of a guiding and educating nature so as to make it a better magazine? RED FLAG is of course different from purely literary or scientific magazines. However, is there any way of making the journal more lively? The masses have many questions they wish to be answered, such as those on the superiority of the socialist system, communist moral integrity, the problems of youth, the study of the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life," and so forth. As RED FLAG is now a bimonthly, perhaps sometimes it can publish a special issue on the superiority of the socialist system. This may be followed by another special issue on the growth and maturing of young people, and so forth. This may make the journal a little more lively. Moreover, formats such as dialog, letterbox, answers to questions, and so forth may be used. In sum, RED FLAG needs breakthrough in the matter of writing style and method of propaganda.

What about RED FLAG's liaison work? If soliciting contributions requires some effort, then the liaison team should be strengthened. It is indeed very time consuming to explore the many problems, trends and circumstances among the masses. The journal should therefore focus on the masses and solve some of the prevailing ideological problems. This of course is a rather difficult task. However, we should not shirk from difficulties. Instead, we should try our best to overcome them. Many problems now await penetrating explanations in plain language and on a wide-ranging scale.

### Liu Zonghuai

RED FLAG, as a bimonthly, has published 13 issues this year. Despite its imperfections, the journal has improved a great deal compared with the past. Changing it from a monthly to a bimonthly is, first of all, a timely step. In addition, I have the impression that this year RED FLAG is trying very hard to publicize the party Central Committee's ideological, political and organizational line. This is a major improvement compared with the past. Naturally, this progress has been made possible through the leadership of and support given by the party Central Committee and the Propaganda Department, as well as through the influence of public opinion from the broadest sections of the society. Moreover, I find that contributors to RED FLAG are from diverse quarters and not just professional thinkers and theoreticians. They include leading comrades of provincial and municipal party committees, as well as leading comrades who handle day-to-day affairs in departments or units. While the journal's theoretical features have to be improved, it has strong points in other aspects. Some articles, I believe, are quite good in integrating theory with practice. I mean that, while the journal has to improve its theoretical content, it should avoid going from abstractions to abstractions and pay more attention to integrating theory with practice. It has yet to increase its influence among the masses. On the other hand, comrades associated with the journal should work hard and meticulously follow the mass line. Apart from this factor, it is hoped that the party Central Committee and its propaganda department will strengthen their leadership over the journal and provide it with specific guidance. Above all, the whole party, along with intellectual and theoretical circles as well as party committees at all levels, should give RED FLAG their vigorous support. We are happy to see that the journal has influence and prestige among the masses. Certainly we will not be pleased at all if the masses lose no heed of the journal. This responsibility is ours. We hope the party Central Committee will look after the journal, as Comrade Mao Zedong did the journal JIAPANG. With support and help given by intellectual and theoretical circles, journalist units and various quarters, I believe RED FLAG will become a journal of the CCP Central Committee worthy of the name. My other view is how to direct the publication of RED FLAG in a more lively way. As things stand, RED FLAG appears to be a serious journal that is not lively enough. I wonder whether steps can be taken whereby we can discuss the matter with

specific problems in mind and answer three questions the masses care about most.

Wen Jize:

I hope for these two things:

1. I hope RED FLAG will identify more closely with reality and with the masses. A recent discussion on the philosophy of life in ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN drew a considerable response from young people throughout the country. To date more than 20,000 letters and articles from readers wanting to participate in the discussion have been received, sometimes more than 1,000 letters a day. How can this overwhelming response be accounted for? I think it is because this question relates to a number of practical problems which are of general interest to young people. Many problems now exist in both the four modernizations and among the people. Some of these problems are so urgent that they have to be solved. It is hoped that RED FLAG will go deep into reality and among the masses to grasp those urgent issues of prime importance and systematically publish theoretical articles that carry weight. It is the party Central Committee which publishes RED FLAG. Hopefully, in the new Long March and on the intellectual and theoretical front, it will play the role of a banner.
2. It is hoped that RED FLAG will carry more articles on science and technology. Of articles carried in the 12 issues of the journal in the first half of this year, only 8 dealt with science and technology. This seems rather scanty. Since we are involved in a modernization program, items about science and technology should occupy considerable space in our newspapers and periodicals. This does not mean that many articles on science and technology should be published, but that appropriately introducing some information on science and technology is considered necessary. I hope RED FLAG will occasionally publish articles reflecting and guiding scientific and technological work. With progress in the four modernizations, the need in this respect will grow steadily. It is also hoped that newspapers and other publications will pay more attention to publicizing science and technology.

Xue Muqiao:

I feel that many academic questions have to be discussed on a wider scale. There are advantages in such discussions. If the views expressed are all positive, the result will be a lack of ideological insight. This insight can only be brought about and developed through unending debates and wrangling with erroneous views. Naturally, we should publicize the party line, principles and policies. However, on academic questions we should likewise encourage discussions and contention of a hundred schools of thought. Such discussions on a wider scale will benefit us by raising our theoretical level. A look at Chinese history shows that contention

of a hundred schools of thought during the Spring and Autumn Annals and Warring States periods marked a prominent stage of cultural development. The same was true in China in the aftermath of the May Fourth Movement. The contention of a hundred schools of thought also existed in the West. Examples are the Greek, Roman and Renaissance periods, which witnessed rapid and vigorous cultural and intellectual activity. Many problems as to how to build socialism now call for study and discussion. RED FLAG is the most important party publication. Every issue of the journal has to raise many specific problems of real significance on the basis of the party's central tasks. This definitely must be done. Our party has raised many new issues, especially since the third, fourth and fifth plenary sessions. These issues have to be discussed, studied and dealt with by us. Moreover, many new problems cannot be resolved by the publication of a few articles or reports, because they require prolonged discussion. RED FLAG has done much in this respect, such as closely adhering to the party's central tasks and publishing many related articles. However, there are more new problems which we do not have the time to study and solve as best we can. In the past we believed in some issues and were not skeptical about them. When we face them now, we no longer believe in them and are beginning to have doubts about them. At the time the "gang of four" was smashed, two issues—one concerning bourgeois rights and the other the theory of productive forces—confronted us. We wrote many articles about them but discussed few other issues, which were not discussed until later, especially after the subject of practice being the sole criterion for testing truth was brought up for discussion. Apart from closely adhering to the party's central tasks and studying, discussing and publicizing them, RED FLAG should discuss the many fundamental theoretical problems raised in the past. Marxism as well as Mao Zedong Thought have to be developed. If Marxism is not developed, we will certainly lag behind. On the basis of our past and practical experience, we should conduct relatively systematic study. In the next 3 to 5 years or more it is hoped that RED FLAG will be able to sort out the many philosophical and theoretical problems left over from the past and publish articles assessing which matters are correct and which are not. This will enable us to have relatively systematic views on Marxism, particularly Marxist ideas about socialism and socialist tenets.

Qian Junrui:

It has been suggested that RED FLAG take the lead in expounding the party's political, ideological and organizational lines and in discussing the many major issues concerning the world's political and economic situation, the international communist movement and so forth. We should have the courage to discuss theoretical questions. Many of the masses, cadres, party members and friendly personages abroad have reflected on questions and asked us to answer them. I hope RED FLAG will take the lead in organizing discussion on these questions and in publishing articles on them when circumstances permit. For example, there is indeed

a very urgent need to clarify, theoretically and from historical and logical viewpoints, such domestic questions as the special characteristics of the Chinese way of modernization, the superiority of the socialist system, the goals of socialist production, socialist democracy and the legal system, communist moral standards and so forth. There are also many questions on an international scale, such as, for example, a worldwide united front against hegemony, war and peace, economic crises and revolutionary situations, the new economic order in the world and so forth. It is hoped that the RED FLAG editorial department will organize discussion of these major international and domestic problems in theoretical circles and among comrades of departments handling day-to-day affairs, so that these problems can be solved one by one. After this is done, articles should be appropriately published on the basis of the existing situation, in accordance with the party line, principles and policies and in conformity with the rules of discipline governing propaganda.

I personally feel that the propaganda work we are now doing is radically different from that undertaken by the party in many stages in the past, because conditions have become more complex and our tasks more arduous. Basically, this involves the question of eliminating chaos and restoring order. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were responsible for confusing issues of right and wrong and reversing established policies. At the same time, we have also made some mistakes, resulting in confusion in the ideological sphere. We must now be very careful in doing propaganda work. We must have the actual situation in mind and make a concrete assessment of specific problems on the basis of fundamental principles. We should also implement the principle of integrating theory with practice, the abstract with the concrete. Indulgence in empty talk and polite remarks should be avoided. I therefore suggest that RED FLAG should first establish the closest relations with departments handling day-to-day affairs and mass organizations, so that many real problems and the mental outlook of the masses can be understood in a timely way. If this is done, then these problems will be readily solved at a theoretical level and on the basis of established principles and policies. Second, the journal should establish the closest ties with those who conduct research on theory. I wonder whether RED FLAG can organize forums and study groups on problems of major importance in accordance with their classifications. For example, one such group may focus on the issue of war and peace, while another may be devoted to the study of the Chinese way of modernization. At regular intervals, articles on such issues, one, two or three at a time, may be published gradually and in a systematic way.

Another point concerns the quoting of the classical writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao in published articles. I am of the opinion that their works should be quoted only when one of the contending parties has distorted and mutilated the sayings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao and that the distortions and mutilations should be

corrected. Quoting their writings is in order if the quoted passage covers all the related points, shows deep insight and conforms exactly to the current situation. However, quoting their works more than necessary should be avoided. If a person lacks insight on problems and is unconvincing in making his point, and if he merely wants to quote Marx and Engels so that his words will carry more weight, I believe that the person who does so is simply inept and that this will not solve problems, either. I recall that when I was working in Zaoyuan in 1946, and again after the liberation, Comrade Mao Zedong told me several times that if I wanted to quote Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin I had better put it in my own words. This would show, first, that I really understood Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and second, that I had elaborated on their remarks in the light of the current situation. I believe this is very important. I also recall that when Comrade Shaoqi was lecturing on the problems of party strategy and tactics at the Central China Party School in 1942 he asked me to gather materials for him. I collected plenty of materials for him. One article from Stalin's "The Foundations of Leninism" was about strategy and tactics. For a long time he sat in a chair going over the questions raised in that article, without even turning that particular page. When I reminded him that he would not be able to cover much of the material if he paused so long, he said: When I read the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, I have the habit of wrapping myself in deep thought so that I can elicit the ideas expounded in their writings in the light of the current situation. The spirit displayed by Comrade Shaoqi should encourage and inspire us to make greater efforts. I have realized that the editors of RED FLAG and party newspapers and journals should avoid relying on quotations to boost their authority, because doing this habitually will abet book worship.

Ma Peiwen:

I agree with those comrades who have offered so many fine ideas to improve RED FLAG.

In my opinion, to improve RED FLAG, emphasis should be placed on strengthening its theoretical content. By theory, naturally I mean the theory of closely integrating with the masses' ideological outlook to the extent of being able to solve their ideological problems, and closely relating it to reality to the extent of being able to solve practical problems. To solve a host of problems confronting us, we urgently need theoretical guidance. Since RED FLAG is a theoretical journal of the party Central Committee, it should play a greater role in publicizing theory. I therefore hope that RED FLAG hereafter will take the lead in exploring theory, in seeking a breakthrough in theory and in displaying courage and thoroughness in tackling theoretical problems.

Wang Ruoshui:

As the theoretical journal of the party Central Committee, RED FLAG holds an important position. Its very large circulation of more than 7,100,000 copies makes it possible for each copy to reach an average of one party member in every five. Since RED FLAG switched to a bimonthly it has made considerable efforts to improve itself. This is quite obvious.

Periodicals have many advantages which can be utilized. Newspapers have the distinct advantage of being able to publish articles quickly, and RED FLAG is no match for the press in point of speed. However, there is a problem for newspapers in that they are off the press daily. If they carry lengthy articles, and if readers cannot finish reading them on that day, it is very likely that they will ignore them the next day when new issues are delivered. In this respect, periodicals have a greater advantage over newspapers in that they can be put aside like books. If one does not have the time to read them on one day, one can always resume reading the next day or the day after next. After one has finished reading them, they can be kept somewhere whenever one wishes to go over them once more.

Naturally, there is the question of making people love to read periodicals or newspapers. I think this involves the question of writing style, which should be lively, fresh and powerful. The question of length also poses a problem. While shorter articles are preferred, the thing that counts is their content, a problem which the masses currently wish to be settled immediately. Even lengthy articles are read by people. I feel that the requirements for periodicals should differ from those for newspapers. In the case of periodicals, to include some lengthy articles is quite all right, but this does not mean that concisely written items are to be ignored. Barring the use of empty verbiage and pleasantries, a 10,000-word article of substantial content will be read avidly by people. On the contrary, an article of 3,000 words will upset readers if it is full of rubbish and empty talk. This is because periodicals have their own special characteristics, so that they can demonstrate their strong points.

It is hoped that RED FLAG will be run well. Between our party newspapers and party journals there is a relationship of mutual cooperation and friendly coordination, and sometimes they enter into friendly competition or emulation. If RED FLAG is run well, it will stimulate and spur the RENMIN RIBAO as well.

Apart from expounding party principles and policies, RED FLAG, in my opinion, should carry more articles that might well be explorative. For example, questions relating to literature and art may be discussed publicly without any consequences that matter. Such discussion permits the airing of different opinions. Whether the publications are periodicals or newspapers, they must have correct and penetrating contents to

maintain their status and establish their authority whereby they can influence the whole country.

Liu Siyu:

As a party journal, RED FLAG is responsible for publicizing the CCP's domestic and foreign guiding principles and policies, paying appropriate attention to international issues. This is commensurate with China's present status of being a major socialist country of the world. It also conforms to the requirements of readers. In the capacity of a researcher on world history and as a RED FLAG reader, I intend to raise the following points from the angle of international issues:

1. A bimonthly has limited space. It should not deal with international topics which are too big, otherwise the discussions are likely to be superficial, sketchy and thus far from exhaustive.
2. It is hoped that such articles will be diverse in form. Apart from political commentaries of a general nature, essays on international subjects, book reviews, notes, selected articles from contributors and so forth may be included to make the contents more lively.
3. Articles of this nature should conform to the readers' ideological outlook and have a definite objective in view so that doubts can be dispelled. I hope RED FLAG will canvas on a wide scale the opinions of representative groups of readers as a basis for selecting subjects for articles.

Speech by Comrade Zhou Yang:

Today, we have many comrades from the theoretical circles with us. Everyone gave many good suggestions. RED FLAG is the organ of the CCP Central Committee. I think everyone has a responsibility to run this publication well. (Comrade Renzhong: We must make it the best magazine in the whole country.) I was one of the earliest contributors to RED FLAG. The maiden issue of RED FLAG carried an article I wrote on new folk songs. This article was recommended for publication by Comrade Mao Zedong. New folk songs are a product of the revolution. They are a newborn thing. Therefore, Comrade Mao Zedong attached much importance to them. Chairman Mao encouraged the development of new folk songs but also appreciated traditional folk songs very much. As a poet he had very strict artistic standards. He commented that "Folk Songs of the Red Flag" which the revered Comrade Guo and I edited was not refined enough. He advocated both realism and romanticism. He advocated the integration of revolutionary romanticism and revolutionary realism. If romanticism is not based on realism, then it is dangerous. The wind of communism and wind of exaggeration were by-products of this. But we cannot abandon the revolutionary spirit just because of this.

I believe that our publications and all our undertakings must first maintain a vigorous revolutionary spirit. Naturally, we must also have a realistic and practical attitude. Stalin said that Lenin's style was a combination of the revolutionary spirit and the realistic spirit. Comrade Mao Zedong reiterated many times the integration of revolutionary romanticism and revolutionary realism. I think this is still the style that we must persist in. Later, this style was sabotaged. Particularly during the time of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" there was realism and a political attitude! Comrade Xiaoping again put forth the slogan that we must seek truth from facts, integrate theory with practice, always proceed from reality and study new conditions and new problems. Why did he receive such enthusiastic support from the whole party? This is because there is a need to restore this traditional style of our party after it had been disrupted for a long time. When we seek truth from facts it is also necessary to have a revolutionary spirit. Without this spirit, how can a publication be full of vitality? To study new events and new problems we must undertake exploration in the theoretical realm. This might result in this or that mistake. But even so, the publication will still have a very vigorous revolutionary image in the hearts of the people. Everyone will want to read it, to be inspired and encouraged. If there is never any new idea and the writings are always overcautious, even if there are no errors, the publication will never attract any attention and become popular. In propagandizing the party's principles and policies we must seek truth from facts and have a revolutionary spirit or an innovative spirit. Is it not true that the eight-point principle of our party had to be reformed? Our various tasks, our literature and art, our education and our institutions all have to be reformed. At present the masses have many criticisms concerning our work in various areas. Only reforms can solve these problems. Is there any other way? Therefore, our publications and all our tasks must boldly and realistically promote reforms. Only thus can we really do our work well.

The newspapers and journals of the party and all the propaganda work of the party must be beneficial to unifying the will and thinking of the party. Otherwise, what would we want an organ for? What would we want a Propaganda Department for? What would we want a party committee for? For unifying the thinking of the whole party and the whole people under the unified guidance of the party Central Committee's principles, policies and line. There are many existing ideological questions and ideological confusion. How can everyone unite as one and wholeheartedly engage in building the four modernizations? To unify our thinking and our will we must seek truth from facts and fully carry out the democratic principles and free discussions to attain unity. There are some questions that are not to be discussed publicly in newspapers or journals. Then discussion can be conducted within the party and within certain limits to enable everyone to fully express his opinions in order to arrive at an agreement on basic questions of principle--though not on all questions. There are many questions that can be freely discussed. Take, for example, questions on literature and art, education, philosophy,

environment and history; why can we not discuss them freely? With public discussion, people's minds become more active, and more people will read the publications. That is the reason I feel that our party organs should create such an atmosphere. Many questions should be allowed to be discussed freely in our party organs. If one has expressed erroneous opinions in the course of discussion, one can be criticized and can also counter-attack. Criticism must be sincerely and intended to benefit others. We have been talking about the double hundred principle for more than 20 years. The double hundred principle means free discussion. Without free development and free discussion, science, literature and art cannot progress. There could be some risks in free development and free discussion. But compared with the danger of mental ossification, these risks are much smaller. We would take these risks to make the thinking of our party and our people vigorous and to make them dare to speak out, express their opinions and engage in discussion. Therefore, I agree with the suggestion made by the majority of our comrades that we should make RED FLAG more lively and strive to achieve unified thinking through lively free discussions. Naturally, it is impossible to have total unity of thinking. Unity of ideas needs only to be arrived at on important questions of principle. When people's thinking has been enlivened and RED FLAG has played a role in unifying people's thinking, then it will gain authority.

#### Speech by Comrade Wang Renzhong

First, let me thank everyone for attending this forum and for making many good suggestions. RED FLAG has had many accomplishments. But I still feel that, as an organ of the party Central Committee, RED FLAG is still a long way from meeting the party Central Committee's demands on the journal. It still has a long way to go in fulfilling the hopes our broad masses of party members and cadres have pinned on it. Regarding the question of how to strive to run the journal well, comrades of the editorial department of RED FLAG should discuss the suggestions made by our comrades today. After discussion they should draw up a plan on how the journal should be edited and what contents should be included in the second half of this year. Moreover, we hope that comrades present or absent from today's meeting, comrades in the theoretical circles and comrades in charge of actual work, will take up the responsibility with us. Everyone has asked that the Central Committee and the Propaganda Department strengthen leadership. We are also prepared to call a meeting specifically to study the art of running newspapers and journals. At the same time, I hope that everyone will go all out and strive hard. The existing problems cannot be solved by any one person alone. Did we not say that we have piles upon piles of problems? We indeed have many problems. Each one of us must work hard to conduct studies and write articles. Both long articles and short articles will be fine, but I hope that long articles will be avoided as much as possible and that there will be more articles of about 1,000 to 2,000 characters or 2,000 to 3,000 characters. Everyone is busy and does not have time to read long

articles. Some questions can be discussed in several articles, with each article dealing with one idea. It is not necessary to have everything included in one long-winded article.

One question is very important, and that is how to integrate theory with practice. This is a question of principle in Marxism, and Comrade Mao Zedong always advocated this. To sum up in one colloquial expression, this is the question of how to shoot the arrow at the target. There are many "targets" at present. There are many questions that need to be answered. The questions to be answered are our "targets." Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is our "arrow." Comrade Mao Zedong said that if one can explain one or two practical questions with the standpoint, viewpoint and methods of Marxism that is already a kind of achievement. The more questions one can explain, the greater the achievement. To be able to shoot the arrow at the target one must conduct investigations and study and hold forums. Some of our comrades are advanced in age and cannot get around or go to the countryside to gain firsthand experience, but it is quite all right for them to stay in Beijing. Although problems in the factories and rural areas in Beijing are not totally similar to those in other places, there may be many common problems. We can go to nearby places to hold forums, interview families of workers and peasants, hold meetings with workers, cadres and students, bring out questions and initiate debates and discussions among them. Articles written on this basis will be able to shoot the arrow at the target, because they will reflect the opinions and wishes of the masses and speak the language of the masses. In this manner our articles will be more lively, people will be more willing to read them and this can solve some problems.

CBO: 4004

## CARRYING OUT ALL-ROUND QUALITY CONTROL IS A REVOLUTION IN PRODUCTION MANAGEMENT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 80 pp 30-33

(Article by Zhu Shanren [2612 0801 0088], director of the Shanghai No 17 Cotton Textile Mill, in the column "How To Raise the Level of Business Management of Industrial Enterprises")

[Text] Editor's Note: One of the important tasks in socialist modernization is to discover some methods of business management which are suitable for our present conditions and for raising the level of business management of socialist industrial enterprises. Beginning with this issue, this journal will run a column, "How To Raise the Level of Business Management of Industrial Enterprises," to discuss some urgent problems concerning the management of present industrial enterprises. Readers are cordially invited to express their views. We hope they will write more short articles, each dealing with a specific topic.

In the past few years our country has imported some foreign techniques for all-round quality control, and many industrial enterprises have obtained outstanding results.

In 1979 our mill began its experiment. It was gradually popularized throughout the mill. After summing up the experiences of our own traditional management methods, studying the laws of quality control and proceeding from the realities in our country and our mill, we assimilated some advanced foreign experiences, discovered some methods for quality control and established an initial system of overall quality control in our mill. Since the popularization of this system we have reformed our old traditional methods, and, instead of passively reviewing our past performances, we took active preventive measures. Quality control by a small number of people was replaced by mass participation in quality control. In addition to the quality of our products, we attached great

importance to the quality of our services, our work and our production costs. Instead of relying on our old experiences, we are now using statistical analysis and scientific data; and instead of the criteria set by the state, we are now relying on our customers' comments and the law of value as the final means of measuring our quality. Thus, quality control, production and business management have all undergone new changes.

What is all-round quality control? Simply speaking, it means mass participation in quality control in all phases of production, the establishment of a complete quality control system in all departments of an enterprise, the use of mathematical statistics as the basic means of control by all workers and staff members, giving full scope to special technology and management techniques and using the most economical research methods for the production and marketing of products which are as fine as the customers expect. An all-round quality control system applies to practically all sections of enterprise management. The intensification of this control system will prompt the enterprise to adopt various scientific methods to speed up the modernization of its management. An all-round quality control system calls for a real reform of the ideas, the system, the methods and the organization of management. This involves an organization of productive forces and an improvement of the relations of production and various spheres of the superstructure. That is why the intensification of an all-round quality control system inevitably will lead to a real revolution in production management and ultimately a further emancipation of productive forces for the speedy progress of the four modernizations.

In this reform we have introduced for ourselves the guiding thought of the "four alls" and "four wholes," meaning all for the customers' satisfaction, all actions guided by "prevention first," all calculations based on scientific data and all things following the PDCA (an abbreviation of the English words "planning, decision, checking and action") cycle; and the whole personnel participating in quality control, the whole work process highlighted by quality control, the whole work proceeding along the path of "quality first" and the whole area striving for greater, faster, better and more economical results. The idea of "four alls" and "four wholes" has become the orientation of efforts and the guideline for action among the broad masses of workers and staff members in our mill and has yielded outstanding results in production.

What criterion should we use in determining the quality of our products? The original idea was, first, to follow the state standard, or the standard set by the ministry, and, second, to follow the first-class goods index set by the higher authorities. Now these standards are obviously not enough. The standard set by the state represents only the minimum requirement, and the first-class goods index can only partially indicate the level of quality. The large number of problems with quality encountered every day are reflected in the opinions of our customers or

consumers. They are not concerned with such questions as whether our products measure up to the state standard or how close our products are to the first-class goods index; they are only concerned with our products' use value and utility. In short, they only want fine goods at low prices. Therefore, only the direct users of consumers can render the final verdict on the quality of products. Since the quality of products is determined by their use value, we introduced the guiding thought of "all for the customers' satisfaction." In other words, we must have a clear understanding of the need for our products to satisfy the people's growing requirements. We used the customers' opinions as an important guide in raising the quality of our products as well as the orientation and motive force for the improvement of our work. This was how we became more ideologically enlightened after practicing all-round quality control. Through force of habit some departments in charge do not share this view in the evaluation of quality. In the textile trade the customary method of evaluating quality is still based on the comparison of goods according to their outward appearance, with no definite requirements for innate quality, particularly their usefulness. Use value is not used as a means of measuring quality, and no consideration is given to the amount of work and capital required to meet the quality standard. This method of evaluation can easily lead to the tendency to be concerned with appearance instead of real utility, or with quality alone without considering production costs.

We hold that the setting of standards and the evaluation of the quality of products should take into account both the products' performance and production costs. Recently we visited some customers and carefully listened to their comments on cloths of inferior quality. Later we tried to analyze the performance according to the principle of value and work. We classified our cotton-dacron of various qualities in the order of primary and secondary importance according to the requirements of the printing and dyeing mills. The result of the investigation clearly revealed a serious dislocation between the quality standard used by the cotton textile mills and the processing requirements of the printing and dyeing mills. For example, the cotton impurities, a matter of primary importance to the cotton textile trade, were considered to be of only secondary importance by the printing and dyeing mills, because these impurities could easily be eliminated in processing. On the other hand, the characteristics of being "firm, smooth and sleek," which are quite important to consumers who use the cloth to make garments, are not included in the quality standard, and were not even considered in the evaluation. This shows that we had not done enough to reduce cotton impurities. For textile mills the reduction of impurities in cotton yarn calls for great efforts and additional production costs. According to statistics, if a grain of impurity has to be removed from every gram of yarn, beyond the normal requirement, the production cost for each 100 tons of cotton yarn will be an additional 1,320 yuan. "Going too far still means not going far enough." The same principle applies to quality. Certainly, failure to satisfy the customers is not desirable; yet

excessive demands on quality, even though the increased use value is negligible, will greatly increase production costs. Therefore, this "surplus quality" or "excessive quality" is inadvisable.

Enterprises are a system of production encompassing people, money, materials, information and environment for the sake of meeting people's requirements. However, instead of being isolated or detached from the rest of the world, the system is related to the society outside in numerous ways. Enterprises as a system are in fact only a tiny portion of society as a whole. For all-round quality control, all forces within the enterprises should be mobilized, and all factors must be organized and coordinated in the best possible way. In other words, quality control should be carried out by the entire personnel and throughout the whole process. The quality of products comprehensively reflects the quality of everyone's work. "A thousand people's yarn mean ten thousand people's cloth," as the old saying goes among textile mills. We are now forming a system in which everyone, including the secretary, the plant director and every worker, will join in guaranteeing good quality. The entire process, including the checking of incoming raw materials, design for and trial manufacture of new products, control of procedures for the daily output of old products, delivery and marketing of finished products and calling on and serving customers, is scientifically and strictly controlled. We have also effectively controlled and standardized five factors affecting the quality of products, namely, raw and semifinished materials, human operations, technological methods, equipment maintenance and environment (particularly the temperature and humidity in textile mills), and we have insured better quality with better workmanship. Quality will be a matter of concern for not merely a small number of specially designated persons, but for the entire personnel; and in addition to the quality of finished products we have also paid attention to the quality of the entire work process. This is an important reform in quality control. If this reform is not coordinated with external conditions, we will meet with many obstacles and can hardly make any headway at all. For textile mills, raw materials are one of the important factors affecting quality and account for more than 80 percent of production costs. If the quality of raw materials is unreliable and the supply cannot be insured, it will be impossible to achieve high quality and stable production costs. At present the mill cannot do anything on its own initiative about the supply of raw materials. It has to carry on with whatever is supplied and has no choice at all. This is a serious problem for quality, and it must be solved through the joint efforts of the industrial and commercial systems.

To practice all-round quality control we have to depend on scientific data and make prevention our primary concern. This calls for adequate means and methods of scientific testing. At present the method of testing is mainly carried out by visual inspection, feeling by hand and other experiences of direct perception through the sense organs, and the result of testing is largely influenced by subjective factors. Tests of

The quality of conditioned products in various processes are generally in a destructive nature requiring complex and time-consuming procedures, and the results are usually ascertained too late to prevent mistakes, thus failing to play any regulatory or controlling role. Therefore, we must solve the urgent problem of advanced tools to be used for rapid and non-destructive testing. Since 1979, to meet the requirements for quality control, our technical personnel and workers have successfully improved an automatic machine for recording cotton impurities and equipment for automatically controlling the temperature of the size, and they have introduced the use of projection instruments, tensiometers, dioptric viscometers, and so forth for conducting scientific tests on the network of cotton fibers, the texture of fabrics, the tensile strength of yarn and the solidity of size with certain success. However, some instruments which require complex technology and are hard to manufacture should be supplied by the professional departments. Testing tools can be likened to the ear, the eye and the nerve system of quality control, and whether or not they are scientific and advanced has a close bearing on the level of industrial technology. Therefore, we must first step up our research on the production of advanced testing tools. This is an indispensable component of the entire system of quality control. The intensification of all-round quality control calls for precautionary measures, so that the flaws can be eliminated in the process of production. Besides relying on the workers' skill and their sensory perception as the means of control, we should also renovate our equipment and raise the level of automation in order to strengthen the monitoring and control systems. We must conduct vigorous research on the manufacturing of various kinds of advanced monitoring and control equipment, including electronic computers and single-engine automatic control installations.

Because of the socialization of production, the reform and improvement of quality require not only the coordinated efforts of various departments within the enterprises and high work performance on the part of the personnel, but also the cooperation and support of the trades and professions concerned. This will certainly lead to certain reforms and readjustments in the relevant spheres of the superstructure. It is said that pulling one strand of hair can produce movement of the whole body. Therefore, in carrying out all-round quality control we must mobilize all the social forces to conduct propaganda and education. All forces of the producers and consumers and those in the educational, scientific and technological, finance and trade departments and government offices must be organized and mobilized to handle this important link of all-round quality control in order to continue the revolution in production management.

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## WHOLEHEARTEDLY SERVE THE CUSTOMERS--ON BUSINESS IDEAS FOR SOCIALIST INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 80 pp 32-34

[Article by Diao Jinxiang [0431 6855 4382], director of the Zikong Dongxin Electric Carbon Plant, Sichuan]

[Text] Because of the experiment in expanding the enterprises' decision-making power, the personnel of the enterprises concerned are now going out to contact their customers and are producing according to the demand in order to make greater contributions to the four modernizations. The method of business operation is now included as an important item on their agenda. To improve business, everyone is now studying and exploring some good business ideas. The so-called business operation means people's economic activities in the production and distribution of material wealth. For an enterprise, it is not only a matter of producing what is needed by society and the consumers, but also of adopting methods for delivering its products to the departments and consumers who need them in order to better meet the ever-increasing demands of society and the people.

Different socioeconomic forms have different guiding business ideas. In a capitalist society the means of production belong to the capitalists, and the business ideas of capitalists are to gain maximum profits with minimum capital. Under the party's leadership, socialist enterprises, of which the workers are the masters, firmly adhere to the socialist orientation, and the purpose of their production is to meet the ever-growing needs of the people in their material and cultural life. Therefore, the business ideas of socialist enterprises should be to serve the customers wholeheartedly.

Serving the customers is a concrete form of serving the people and the four modernizations. This is a task which is determined by the nature and duty of socialist enterprises and is also a reflection of the basic socialist economic law.

Socialist enterprises should continuously adopt advanced technology and advanced processes and equipment and should continue to raise, improve and develop their production in order to meet the ever-increasing material and cultural needs of the people to the maximum extent. To attain this goal they must be concerned with the use value of their products and devote their energy to the quantities, varieties, specifications, designs, quality, appearance and packing of their products. The primary concern of factories is with their customers' satisfaction and the products their customers like to use. The products of an enterprise will have no use value if they fail to satisfy the customers. An important way to develop production is to strive for more popular use of their products so as to serve the customers more extensively and efficiently. According to the original design, our plant should produce carbon of only 22 varieties for the electric industry. Now the number of varieties has increased to 76, and in addition to large quantities of carbon of various varieties for the electric industry, we are also producing large quantities for the machinery, chemical, metallurgical and other special industries. The scope of our products has expanded from various trades and professions of the electric industry to the machinery, metallurgical, chemical, light industrial, petroleum, instruments and meters, and electronic departments. In 3 years of operation, from 1970, when our plant was commissioned, to 1973, our output doubled; and by 1978 our production had tripled. In 1977 the output value of new products amounted to 40 percent of the total annual output value, and the profits amounted to 50 percent of the total annual profits.

To serve our customers wholeheartedly we provided cordial, convenient and meticulous services to our old regular customers. At the same time we carefully check on the use of these types of products at home and abroad, study the situation carefully and dispatch technical service teams for propaganda and promotional work in society in order to obtain more new customers and expand our market. In the past several years we have popularized the use of our carbon graphite seal rings, graphite inflation rings, graphite flakes, graphite piston rings, graphite bearings, graphite axial bushings, graphite washers, and so forth, in addition to carbon materials for synthetic diamonds. While improving the quality and increasing the varieties of our products, the enterprise at the same time has paid attention to the reduction of production costs in order to supply good and low-priced products to our customers and to accumulate more funds for expanded reproduction.

So that our products can better meet customers' requirements, we carefully attended to scientific research, technical innovation and the tapping of potentials. The purpose of our scientific research was to lay the foundation for the supply of new products and the upgrading of our old products for the customers. At present one-third of all the engineering personnel in our plant are engaged in scientific research, and the area of our research site is gradually expanding. We have also added some new test instruments. The carbon graphite material research

center, established in 1976, has produced 27 types of new products following research. Eleven of them have attained the advanced levels and met the customers' requirements fairly well. Improvement of technical equipment is an important means of raising the quality of products. For this purpose, our plant has adopted new technology, improved work conditions, set up technical workshops and trained a contingent of technical personnel skilled in designing, manufacturing and construction. Tapping potentials is an important measure for expanding reproduction and producing new products as soon as possible. In 1979, mainly through tapping potentials, our plant set up a processing workshop for new products manned by 80 workers. The output value reached 4.5 million yuan and enabled us to later in the year to more than 100 customers. This clearly shows that the needs of customers are the orientation, goal and motive force for an enterprise to conduct scientific research, technical innovation and the tapping of potentials.

The socialist economy is a planned economy. The business ideas of enterprises should correspond to planned and proportionate development and the law of value. First, the enterprises must be plan-conscious and strive to fulfill the plans handed down by the state, in time and according to the specified quality and quantity, so as to be sure that planned regulation plays the leading role in the enterprise's business activities. At the same time, it should attach great importance to the role of market regulation. An enterprise should think of the market, too. Through the relationship between supply and demand in the market it should discover the amount of products required and examine the quality of products. It should use the market as a mirror to reveal the correctness or incorrectness of its business ideas as well as the business results. It should frequently look at itself in the mirror, thinking over everything, and, if necessary, revise or adjust the production plans without delay.

When there is market regulation there must be competition. The main purpose of competition is to win over customers. Competition can stimulate the enterprise's innate motive force and bring changes in many respects, from business to forms of business activities and from the structure of management to the business mentality of workers and staff members. An enterprise can win the competition only when it has an efficient structure, effective management and high productivity.

Marketing is the vanguard of business operation. The marketing structure and sales force of an enterprise should be ready to join the competition. So that marketing can promote production, the sales department should have easy access to information through market investigations, analyses and forecasts. In a certain sense, knowledge of the extent of market demand is a prerequisite for winning the competition. The quality of products should be carefully attended to, and every means must be used to give satisfaction and provide convenience to the customers. This is the guarantee of victory in the competition. An enterprise's products must be strongly competitive in respect to quality, varieties, specifications,

designs, prices, accessories, service and packing. Last year, when there was a serious imbalance between production and marketing and the state plan kept us working seriously under capacity, our plant adopted positive measures by forming a special sales organ with service centers in different places throughout the country. These centers are responsible for providing technical services, investigating the local markets and promoting sales. We also set up a file of our customers, paid them regular visits to ascertain the quality of our products and carried out various forms of propaganda and sales promotion. After some efforts we achieved outstanding results. Last year we fulfilled the state plan 2 months ahead of schedule, and the output value and profit levels were the highest since the inception of our plant. The regulative role of the market has opened more avenues for sales and added to the vitality of the enterprise.

The business idea of serving the customers wholeheartedly on the part of socialist enterprises helped promote their modernization. Since our plant is engaged in producing electric carbon, we should try in every way to supply high-quality products and to make them available to all departments, trades and professions which can make use of them. This is the goal of our struggle and the orientation of our service. We must more effectively master new technology, new processes and new equipment with a view to modernizing the electric carbon industry and our plant. We will encounter many difficulties in managing the enterprise well. However, as long as our thinking and actions are truly oriented to serving the customers, these difficulties can be overcome, our service will be further improved and our enterprise will continue to develop.

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PERFECT THE REVOLUTIONARY LEGAL SYSTEM AND PROTECT THE INTERESTS OF THE  
PEOPLE--REMINISCENCES OF EMINENT COMRADE DONG BIWU'S OUTSTANDING  
CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLITICAL AND LEGAL WORK

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 80 pp 35-37

[Article by Jin Mosheng [6855 7817 3932]]

[Text] Comrade Dong Biwu (5516 1801 2976) was one of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party, a great proletarian revolutionary and the PRC's earliest outstanding leader on the political and jurisprudence fronts. His brilliant militant career spanned several decades, and a large part of it was devoted to promoting political and legal work. He has left an indelible mark in the history of the development of our revolutionary government and socialist legal systems.

Eminent Comrade Dong was good at applying the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state and law to study and sum up our practical experiences in building the revolutionary government. Before nationwide liberation he first worked in the Jiangxi revolutionary base area before being transferred to the areas under the government of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region and the North China People's Government. Wherever he went he never stopped paying attention to the need for strengthening the revolutionary government and its legal system. He devoted his time to building our country's government system in a creative way. Commenting on the regulations of the people's congresses and our country's superior government system, he explicitly said: "Basically, our people's congresses or the political system under which they are organized fall under the category of the socialist system. The source of our political strength comes from the people's representative meeting or the system in which the people's congresses are organized, a system which represents the whole picture of our political life." He also pointed out: Once it was formed, a people's congress was not only a legislative body but also a working organ. It was an organizational form through which the people could take direct part in the administration of state affairs. Through this statement he pointed out the need for reforming the state organs as the most fundamental guarantee for the people to manage state affairs as masters of their own country. As a leader participating in the actual formation of the

people's revolutionary government in the liberated areas, he fully endorsed the achievements of the people's congresses at all levels there. In 1948 he was elected chairman of the North China People's Government. From that position he began to concentrate great attention on building the organs of state power, especially those at the basic levels, on the basis of basic achievements of the old liberated areas in land reform. Furthermore, he gave strong support in the form of manpower and material resources to the battlefronts in close coordination with all units concerned. In addition to personally grasping the task of building district and township governments, he assumed a leading role in the drafting of the organic regulations for the district and township people's congresses and district and township governments, stipulating that all district and township governments shall be elected by the people's congresses at their corresponding levels. In October 1948 he invited cadres from the Shanxi-Chahaer-Hebei and Shanxi-Chahaer-Shandong-Henan border regions to a meeting held in Pingshan County, Hebei Province, to sum up our experiences in building the organs of state power. Since the PRC's founding these experiences have been used as a basis for shaping regulations for the local people's congresses at all levels and the National People's Congress. Eminent Comrade Dong attached great importance to this newborn government system. He once sent cadres of the Political and Legal Affairs Committee to Beijing, Shanxi, Chahar, Hebei and other provinces to investigate, study and sum up their experiences in building local governments and to survey related problems. He sternly and promptly criticized those who viewed with contempt the representative meetings at all levels and the people's congresses and who substituted their administrative meetings for sessions of the people's congresses. He resolutely defended the people's right to manage their own country, fighting heroically for the consolidation and development of socialist democracy.

Eminent Comrade Dong studied and knew the law well. He applied the Marxist theory of the state and law to profoundly expose the hypocritical and reactionary nature of the capitalist legal system and realistically summed up new China's experience in building the organs of state power and the legal system, thus leaving us a rich legacy of essays and articles on these subjects, a cultural legacy which is highly valuable to our political and legal affairs front. He often interpreted the important functions and role of the revolutionary legal system from the scientific and theoretical points of view. In this connection, he pointed out: "Naturally, laws, statutes, regulations and rules are required to establish any new government. After the old system is smashed, we must strive to replace it with a new one. Otherwise, anarchism will prevail. How can the new order be maintained in the absence of laws, statutes, regulations and rules? We must act according to the new laws, regulations and rules as soon as they are established. The party must adopt positive measures to perfect our democratic legal system, safeguard the people's democratic system, strengthen the discipline of law and order and protect the people's democratic rights." This statement clearly

tells us that the socialist legal system must be improved in order to safeguard socialist democracy, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and protect the interests of the broad masses.

On the basis of the dialectical relationship between the superstructure and the economic base, eminent Comrade Dong also stressed the need to strengthen the socialist legal system in coordination with economic development. In this connection, he explicitly proposed "a policy aimed at gearing judicial work to serve economic construction," along with measures to strengthen the socialist legal system. He also gave detailed reasons for putting the legal system at the service of economic construction.

In addition to interpreting the important functions and role of the legal system from the theoretical point of view, he was very active in revolutionary practice and in the development of the revolutionary legal system. As soon as new China was founded, he took direct part in the drafting of the "Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference," "The PRC Marriage Law," "The PRC Land Reform Law," "The PRC Regulations Governing Penalties Against Counterrevolutionaries," "The PRC Regulations Governing Penalties Against Corruption," "The PRC Program for the Enforcement of Minority Regional Autonomy" and many other laws. He also participated directly in the drafting of the "PRC Constitution" and the "Electoral Law of the PRC National People's Congress." At the same time, he devoted his energy to compiling and studying the criminal law, civil law and the law of criminal procedure of foreign countries. He also spared no effort to investigate and study the legal systems that had been in force since the PRC's founding.

Eminent Comrade Dong also worked hard and tirelessly to develop our revolutionary legal system. Before nationwide liberation he attached great importance to the development of an initial people's democratic legal system. In this connection, he pointed out: During the revolutionary civil wars, under the unified leadership of the party, various revolutionary base areas in our country adopted many policies and laws which represented the will of the people and interests of the revolution. Although these policies and laws were relatively simple in form and unavoidably tinged with local interests, they were instrumental in insuring the development of our revolutionary cause and were symbols of our people's democratic legal system in its budding stage. After nationwide liberation eminent Comrade Dong was particularly concerned with the development of the socialist legal system. Shortly after the PRC's founding he became vice premier of the State Council and chairman of the Political and Legal Affairs Committee. In addition to assisting Premier Zhou Enlai in handling state affairs, he was a principal leading member in charge of our country's political and legal affairs. At his special invitation, Premier Zhou Enlai addressed the first session of the Political and Legal Affairs Committee, giving important instructions on political and legal affairs. During the session eminent Comrade Dong also proposed the gradual perfection of the laws.

Because the legal system tended to be further improved at that time, he suggested to the comrades concerned that the Supreme People's Court take steps to compile all judicial precedents as reference. This suggestion was further endorsed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his 17th instruction on the legal system. In his speech to the eighth party congress, Comrade Dong pointed out: "Acting according to the law is a key to success in further strengthening the legal system." What does this mean? In response to this question, he said: "The meaning of 'acting according to the law' is twofold. First, laws must be enacted and proclaimed so as to turn all our citizens into law-abiding people. In other words, swift efforts must be made to improve all important laws that remain incomplete. Second, everyone must abide by the law. Provisions of all existing laws must be effectively enforced; everyone must act according to the law. The laws must be strictly observed by all judicial organs in an exemplary way. No one should be permitted to offend any law." This thought originating from eminent Comrade Dong, that everyone must act according to the law and abide by law and that laws must be enacted and improved was and still is an important guiding thought for further strengthening our legal system today. Over 20 years of practical experience, and especially the lessons we have drawn from the violation of the socialist legal system by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and their cruel suppression of the people, clearly tell us that eminent Comrade Dong's critical comments on the "loopholes in our legal system" and "violation of the laws" and other legal problems constitute a golden axiom which is still useful to us today.

Eminent Comrade Ding also stressed the need to educate party members, cadres and the broad masses in observing the laws through a propaganda campaign. In this connection, he said: "At present, law observance has become a problem that hinders the serious adoption of the personnel of state organs. We must abide by the law and must lead the people in observing the law. This is essential to the implementation of our party's general line." He emphasized: "An urgent task in the process of further strengthening our legal system is to step up the campaign of publicity and education which is aimed at strengthening the sense of the legal system among the cadres and people. Only in this way can we help them understand what is legal and what is illegal, convince them that the state legal system should be strictly observed in order to guarantee their democratic rights, effectively implement our legal system and bring into full play the people's role in overseeing law enforcement."

Eminent Comrade Dong attached the greatest importance to the education of people in the law. Shortly after the establishment of the North China People's Government in 1945, he focused his efforts on training judicial cadres. As soon as the Central People's Government was established, he assumed a leading role in founding a new law research institute and in training cadres in political and legal affairs. In this connection, he pointed out that the training of cadres in operating the public security organs, the people's procuratorates and the people's courts must be

carried out under a unified plan. He also assisted the cooperation of Peng Zhen and Lin Boqu [1012 384 0015] in founding the Central Political and Legal Cadre School. After learning that the Beijing University Law School was spontaneously closed in 1952 as a result of educational reorganization, he instructed the departments concerned to restore it. In addition to personally assigning his staff to take charge of the reconstruction of the Beijing University Law School, he issued a detailed instruction regarding its teaching policy, student enrollment plan and faculty composition, an instruction which also emphasized the following three points: 1) Law must serve, but cannot be substituted by politics; 2) we must learn from foreign countries in a way that takes into account China's actual needs; we should never learn from them in a dogmatic way; 3) we must rely on veteran cadres to operate the law school; we must make efforts to train young teachers and unite existing teachers to bring their role into full play. These timely teachings remain useful today.

He was also deeply interested in law research. In November 1949 he founded the New China Political Society and the New China Law Society. The former was headed by Lin Boqu [2651 D130 3235] and the latter by Shen Junru [1343 0874 0110]. Their purpose was to rally experts in political and legal affairs both inside and outside the party behind the "Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference" and the common endeavor to successfully develop the legal system. In the spring of 1951 the two societies were merged into the China Political and Law Society under eminent Comrade Dong's personal direction. According to the provisions of its charter, the aim of this society was to rally comrades both inside and outside the party behind a common effort to study the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state and law, to apply the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint and method to remodel our old ideas, to popularize legal knowledge, to provide experience in developing the legal system, to exchange knowledge about law with other nations and to participate in international debates on legal issues. All these fully reflected his perception of this political and law society. Following its inauguration, this society operated under his direct leadership. He personally chaired the first meeting of its board of directors and its succeeding standing committee meetings. The minutes of each meeting were personally reviewed and approved by him. In 1951 the law research institute was officially inaugurated with eminent Comrade Dong's blessing.

In 1953 the journal ZHENGZHI YANJIU [POLITICAL AND LAW RESEARCH] was inaugurated in accordance with his proposal to promote research in political and legal affairs. In addition to personally writing the heading for the journal and the editorial for its inaugural issue, he dictated the following editorial policy to the comrades associated with this publication: 1) It must serve and never alienate itself from politics; 2) It must keep in touch with reality. As soon as each issue was off the press, he was briefed by the chief editor on its contents. He attached great importance to this publication. During each briefing he

would pass on to the judicial department his opinions on the activities in the previous issue. He never stopped showing his concern for this publication, even after being appointed deputy head of state, a job which kept him very busy.

Eminent Comrade Dong repeatedly pointed out: The key to success in strengthening the socialist legal system lies in our efforts to strengthen the leadership of the party. He said: "The party must strengthen its leadership over the development of the legal system as an important step in further strengthening the people's democratic legal system." He pointed out: "The party can lead the organs of state power and the departments in charge of implementation of the legal system. But this does not mean that it can substitute for their functions." In specifying the correct relationship between party and state organs with the aim of strengthening the leadership of the party, eminent Comrade Dong said: "First, in its relation with the organs of state power the party must clearly advise them in what direction they should move and what work they should do; second, while overseeing their activities, it should remind them and their subordinate units of the need to carry out its policies; third, it should select and appoint loyal and able party and nonparty cadres to staff the organs of state power." Today this advice from eminent Comrade Dong remains valid in the correct handling of the relationship between the party and the government.

Furthermore, some speeches and actions which disregarded the legal system often drew severe criticism from eminent Comrade Dong. In 1951, after noting that the people's congresses were ignored by many localities and were never in session in scores of counties in north China, he severely criticized them for harboring such erroneous thoughts about the people's congresses during his appearance at the first meeting of county government leaders in north China. During the eighth national party congress held in 1958 he also sharply criticized those who disregarded the legal system and violated the laws. In 1959, in refuting the nihilist trend of thought aimed at closing the political and legal affairs colleges, he said: "This opinion is not shared by the central authorities." At a meeting attended by representatives of political and legal circles he repeatedly emphasized that the law could never be annihilated, nor could anyone take the job away from you or your next generation. This statement by eminent Comrade Dong, which warmed the hearts of political and legal affairs cadres at that time, was a clear indication of his dedication to the principle of the proletarian party character.

This spirit of loyalty to the party and people displayed by our esteemed and beloved Comrade Dong--a proletarian revolutionary--will forever educate and inspire us to advance from victory to victory.

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CSO: 4004

## ON THE MARXIST OUTLOOK ON PRACTICE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 14, 16 Jul 80 pp 38-45

[Article by Xiao Qian (5135 0467)]

[Text] According to Marxist philosophy, the viewpoint on practice is of crucial significance in the entire Marxist theoretical system. Engels regarded the "Theses on Feuerbach," in which Marx for the first time defined the significance of practice, as "the first document in which the brilliant germ of the world outlook is deposited." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, pp 208-209) Both Marx and Engels called "communism" the "materialism of practice," and Lenin held that the viewpoint on practice should be "the first and fundamental in the theory of knowledge." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 142) In defense of Marxism, Comrade Mao Zedong published his famous work "On Practice." All this shows the extreme importance of the viewpoint on practice in the Marxist system. Without practice there can be no way to understand nature and society; without the viewpoint on practice there can be no scientific socialism. The discussion on the question of the criterion of truth after the smashing of the "gang of four" played a great role in emancipating the mind, doing away with blind faith and setting things right in the political and ideological lines precisely because this discussion is closely related to this most fundamental Marxist viewpoint.

The term "practice" is not an exclusively Marxist one. Some philosophers before and after the birth of Marxism spoke about "practice," and some of them even exaggerated its significance. Hegel was one of those who emphasized "practice," while the pragmatists have even regarded it as the starting point of their whole set of theories. Lenin pointed out that pragmatism "recognizes practice as the only criterion." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 349) The question is that their so-called "practice" is basically different from that of Marxism. In his letter to Li Da, dated 28 December 1954, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The terms regarding practical application and efficiency used by pragmatists and cited in our criticism of pragmatism are similar in general to those being used by us. It is necessary to compare these terms with the terms we are using and make some explanations, because ordinary people cannot clearly

distinguish between them." This should be the way for us to deal with pragmatism, as well as the other viewpoints which can easily be confused with the Marxist concept of practice. We must correctly understand the Marxist scientific definition of the concept of practice and clarify those viewpoints which people "cannot clearly distinguish" before we can comprehensively understand the Marxist viewpoint on practice. This is very necessary in consolidating and expanding the outcome of the discussion on the criterion of truth.

How should we interpret the Marxist concept of practice?

The concept of practice is inseparable from the basic question of philosophy.

Before the birth of mankind there was no such thing as a relationship between matter and consciousness. It was only through the practice of labor that apes became men and human society was created. Then consciousness in the world and the relationship between matter and consciousness came into being. Consciousness was the outcome of a long material development; therefore, matter is primary. The material world, if left entirely to itself, cannot meet human needs, so people must understand and transform it. The motive, purpose, plan and so forth of people for the transformation are based on their consciousness or subjective view. The subjective can reflect the objective only through practice. Again, it is only through practice that consciousness can transform matter and that the subjective can be translated into the objective. Practice is the source of contradictions between matter and consciousness and between the objective and the subjective. It is also the foundation on which contradictions, in their motion, continue to arrive at a unity of opposites. If we do not understand practice, then we cannot correctly understand the dialectical relationship between matter and consciousness and between the objective and the subjective. This is one aspect of the issue.

The other aspect is that without the dialectical relationship between matter and consciousness and between the objective and the subjective we cannot correctly understand practice either. Marx criticized those who had always been pragmatists by pointing out that they were divorced from the material foundation and exaggerated the subjective aspect in an abstract way. At the same time he pointed out: "The chief defect of all hitherto existing materials is that the thing, reality, sensuousness is conceived only in the form of the object or of intuition, but not as human sensuous activity, pragmatism, not subjectively." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol I, p 16) Thus we can see that neither abstractly developing the subjective and being divorced from the objective nor one-sidedly stressing the objective by discarding the subjective can be conducive to a correct understanding of practice. Lenin clearly pointed out that the interlocking point of the subject and the object and of consciousness and matter is "equivalent to the practice of people and

human history." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 357) Comrade Mao Zedong concisely and scientifically described practice as "the subjective translated into the objective." ("On Unfinished War") All these are scientific definitions of the concept of practice based on the dialectical relationship between matter and consciousness and between the objective and the subjective.

Since practice is "the subjective translated into the objective," it naturally refers to the activities of changing the realities. Activities which do not lead to any change of realities and which are purely perceptual activities, such as taking a look at or hearing about something, cannot be called practice. Generally, this interpretation is correct, that is, generally but not absolutely. Hegel said: "The sense organs of sight and hearing serve the purpose of knowledge; whatever we see and hear is left undisturbed. The sense organs of smelling and tasting, however, show the germ of practice, because we smell what we are going to eat and taste what we are going to swallow." ("Esthetics," Vol 1, p 178) This passage contains some rational substance. However, we should go further by saying that even in our sense organs of sight and hearing we should be able to detect the germ of practice. Instead of simply interpreting the "activities of changing realities" as a process of a direct change, we should also take into account the process of preparation indispensable for changing some object. All observations and investigations (seeing and hearing) intended as a preparation for changing realities, such as astronomic observations, geological surveys, social investigations, military reconnaissance and so forth, can be called practice. Lenin pointed out: "In practice which serves us as a criterion in the theory of knowledge, we must include also the practice of astronomical observations, discoveries, and so forth." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 140) Furthermore, what has been achieved in the activities to change realities and what has been gained from observation should also be regarded as practice. As Lenin said, Marx' "Das Kapital" "uses facts, that is, practice, as a means of examination at every step of his analysis." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 357)

All human activities conducted for a purpose are practice. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Marxists regard man's activities in production as the most fundamental practical activity, the determinant of all his other activities." ("On Practice") He also pointed out: "Man's social practice is not confined to activity in production but takes many other forms--class struggle, political life, scientific and artistic pursuits; in short, as a social being, man participates in all spheres of practical life of society." ("On Practice")

When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" work on the rampage, many one-sided and narrow viewpoints on practice which violated Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought were in circulation. Sometimes they used the most basic activity of practice, namely, activities in production, as a substitute for the entire social practice. All engineering and technical personnel

and skilled workers were called "aristocrats" removed from the masses and were forced to undertake simple and crude manual labor. This viewpoint, which interprets the practice of production in terms of physical labor, discards the increasingly important role of mental labor in modernized production. This was purely a historical retrogression. Sometimes they openly stressed the practice of class struggle as the most fundamental practical activity and the determinant of all other activities, while production activity was dismissed as being insignificant and negligible. The common ground of these two viewpoints is that no mental labor in production, administrative control, artistic creation, scientific research and training, people of talent by teaching can be regarded as practice, so that all people engaged in mental work were vilified as bourgeois elements or bourgeois intellectuals divorced from practice, and all those engaged in artistic, scientific and educational pursuits were forced to abandon their own professional activities of practice in order to take part in simple and heavy physical labor or to carry out the so-called "class struggle." In their opinion, this was the only way for those "elements" who were "divorced" from practice to be "reunited."

The above viewpoints are fundamentally erroneous and contrary to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought; in practice they are extremely harmful. They undermined the socialist economy and scientific, educational, cultural and artistic undertakings, disrupted socialist construction, and caused certain change among patriotic intellectuals who were loyally dedicated to the socialist modernization. These viewpoints did nothing but keep in the cause of revising the intellectuals' world outlook and helping them accept the socialist and communist scientific theories. Lenin pointed out long ago that scientists and engineers recognized communism by taking the root of their own professional practice. (See "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol. 4, p. 671). The life of our outstanding scientist Li Siguang (1901-1984) is the most eloquent proof of the accuracy of Lenin's statement.

Speaking of social practice as a whole, it would be correct to say that the activity of production is the most fundamental practice which determines all other activities. For each individual in the social division of work, his own professional activities are the main practice, while anyone neglecting his own profession is the worst offender in being isolated from the masses. Of course, professional practice cannot be disassociated from the entire social practice or from the most fundamental practice of activity in production. For example, literary and art workers engaged in creative work or educational workers engaged in teaching are certainly not "divorced from the masses." Quite the contrary, they are engaged in the special part of practice which is indispensable in the social division of work. This does not at all mean that literary and art workers should only be concerned with creative work and that educational workers should be concerned only with teaching. Instead, they should have extensive contacts with everyday life and be concerned

with and even play a direct role in various forms of social practice. This is also one way for them to draw nourishment and to enrich themselves, so that their own professional practice will better fit in with the entire practice of socialist construction.

The scientific definition of the concept of practice and the in-depth exposition of the substance of practice according to Marxist philosophy have revealed the characteristics of practice in many aspects, among which the most basic are: objectivity, man's dynamic role and social historical significance.

First, practice means the subjective translated into the objective.

This first of all means that practice is a type of objective "perceptual activity," or some material activities which people can directly or indirectly feel. The kind of practice which idealists talk about is usually imperceptible through people's sensory organs, because it is the outcome of subjectivism or the innate spiritual activity produced through divine revelation. This idealist practice is basically wrong, because the subject (man) of practice, the object (objective world) of practice and the means (tools, machinery) of practice are all perceptible objective realities. The process of practical activities and their results are also perceptible objective things. Therefore, no matter from which angle it is viewed, practice is objective activity.

Yet, instead of ordinary objective activities, practice is a special activity by which the subjective is translated into the objective. Human beings are no ordinary animals, but a higher form of animal with an inner subjective world and the power of thinking and reasoning. If materialism does not attempt to interpret practice from people's subjective aspect, it will not be able to distinguish between human practice and the activities of other animals or to correctly interpret the special objective activity of practice. Marx pointed out that animal activities, even those as intricate as a spider web and a beehive, are, after all, some form of unconscious, instinctive activity which does not constitute an activity of labor practice. The labor practice of human beings, even though clumsy and crude is, after all, subjectively controlled and consciously carried out with a purpose. It is therefore far superior to the other animal activities.

Human practice has evolved from animal activities. Lenin said: "Instinctive man, the savage, does not distinguish himself from nature, but conscious man does." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 90) It is still very difficult to clearly distinguish the practice of savages from animal activities, because this type of practice usually lacks a purpose and planning. Only the practical activities of conscious man can be clearly distinguished from animal activities.

man's practical activities are planned and purposeful. However, this does not mean that all man's purposes and plans conform to objective laws. When the purposes and plans of man conflict with objective laws, practice will not be able to attain its expected goal. In fact, people cannot make all their purposes and plans conform to objective laws, since their practice inevitably includes some elements of blindness - spontaneity. The development of human practice calls for the constant increase of consciousness and the reduction of blindness and spontaneity. Knowledge and rationality provide people's practice with real strength. The practice of modernized production demands that every worker have more cultural and social knowledge, stronger theoretical and mental power and a high concentration of will and attention in the course of practice. The practice of modernization also demands that every worker gradually become an intellectual. Anyone who does not understand the roles of knowledge and the subjective element in practice will not truly understand practice, and, most of all, the practice of modernization. Anyone who does not actively remodel his world outlook and does not have high socialist consciousness, the necessary modern knowledge and technology and the theoretical mental power will not be able to make real contributions to the realization of the socialist modernization through his own practice.

Practice is the bridge between the subjective and the objective, as well as an objective activity producing interactions among subjective things. This activity has a profound effect on both the subjective and the objective. It enables the subjective to reflect the objective and serves to expose the truth behind the reflection and knowledge. It also helps determine whether our subjectiveness corresponds to the objectiveness.

The practice mentioned here is certainly not the "practice" conceived of by the solipsists or pragmatists (the "practice" which discards objective logic or law and which has a subjective or arbitrary element), but the kind of practice interpreted in materialism. Lenin pointed out: "For the materialist, the 'success' of human practice proves the correspondence between our laws and the objective nature of the things we perceive (or the objective logic of law of the thing itself--the author). For the solipsist, 'success' is everything, needed 'by me in practice' which can be required separately from the theory of knowledge." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol. 2, p. 139). When we examine practice we must relate it to the theory of knowledge and to the relationship of unity of opposites, or the relationship of the subjective and the objective.

Since practice cannot be separated from subjective guidance, there are different levels of practice. Some fairly simple truths can be proved in the practice of our daily life. For example, "the test of the pudding is in the eating," and if you want to know how a pear tastes, bite a handful yourself. However, there are complex and profound truths which usually conflict with our common knowledge. These truths cannot be proved by the practice of daily life, which contains certain blindness

and spontaneity which are without scientific theoretical guidance. For example, it would be best for us to cite Einstein's theory of time and space. The practice which serves the purpose of testing truth is undoubtedly an objective activity. However, since it is the objective activity of translating the subjective into the objective, we must also note the role of the subjective element. Without certain scientific knowledge as the foundation; without the necessary material means (materialized scientific theories); without the guidance of correct logical and theoretical ideas; and without an indomitable spirit or will on our part, practice will not be able to touch on the profound and objective nature of things, and this kind of practice cannot be used to test the truth of the objective reflection of things.

After all, practice is the activity of translating the subjective into the objective; therefore, in our discussion we have to repeatedly stress the role of the subjective in practice and the importance of our consciousness in further remodeling our subjective world. However, we must never forget that, no matter how important the subjective role may be, practice, after all, is still a kind of objective perceptual activity. This objective activity is different from ordinary animal activities, because it is man's activity with a purpose.

Second, practice is a dynamic activity.

The dynamic nature of human practice is manifested in two aspects: One is to transform the world through practice, and the other is to dynamically understand the world through practice. These two different aspects are closely related and mutually supplementary. In the course of transforming the world, mankind gradually comes to understand the world, and its better knowledge of the world in turn strengthens its power to transform the world.

The world conceals its essence behind its outer false appearance. Animals cannot think and therefore cannot reflect the essence of the world by seeing through the outer false appearance. Mankind can think and grasp the essence of things by seeing through the outer false appearance. "But it is precisely the alteration of nature by men, not solely nature as such, and it is in the measure that man has learned to change nature that his intelligence has increased." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 551) Precisely because of this, the materialist theory of dynamic reflection is built on the foundation of an accurate understanding of practice.

Practice is able to provide subjectiveness with the dynamic ability of thoroughly knowing the essence of things only because, in the course of transforming the world, it can tear off the layers of outer false appearance and thus reveal the real essence of things. Essence is universal, natural and governed by laws, but it lurks behind an outward appearance. Practice can help people to raise their knowledge from the

level of individual perception to the level of universality and rationality and to apply the experiences gained from individual, particular and limited practical activities to similar practice but on an infinitely wider scope. This is why practice itself has the superiority of universality. In the activities of practice there is a process of change from the individual to the general, from the particular to the universal, and from limited to unlimited activities. As to whether the universal theories which people gain from practice represent truth and whether these theories correspond to objective reality, this has to be ultimately tested by practice. At the same time, it is only practice that can transform theories into realities, or realistic theories. Therefore, as Lenin said, "Practice is higher than (theoretical) knowledge, for it has not only the dignity of universality but also that of immediate actuality." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 230)

The ultimate purpose of knowing the world is to transform it, and the extent of the dynamic role of practice in transforming the world is determined by the depth and accuracy with which the objective nature of things can be revealed in practice. "The 'objective world' 'pursues its own course,' and man's practice, confronted by this objective world, encounters 'obstacles' in the 'realization' of the end, even 'impossibility'..." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 231) As long as people deeply and clearly understand the objective nature of objective things and act accordingly, then practice will be able to play the dynamic role of solving these problems. Therefore, our materialists' interpretation of the dynamic role is different from that of the idealists, because we hold that a dynamic role, instead of being abstract and arbitrary, is controlled by the objective nature of things, or objective laws. In a certain sense, the dynamic role of practice in transforming the world is the dynamic role of knowledge based on objectivity and essentiality.

In practice, mankind dynamically transforms not only the objective but also the subjective world by constantly increasing the power of logical thinking, or the power to know the objective world. An accurate knowledge of the objective world is inseparable from correct logical thinking. The logic of thinking is nothing more than the reflection of objective logic in human subjectiveness. The reflection of objective things by mankind is the dynamic outcome of practice, and thus logic is also the outcome of the dynamic role of practice. "Man's practice, repeating itself a thousand million times, becomes consolidated in man's consciousness by figures of logic. Precisely (and only) on account of this thousand-million-fold repetition, these figures have the stability of a prejudice and an axiomatic character." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 233) The importance and reliability of the role played by logic in knowledge has been tested in practical experience throughout human history. The truths proved by practice in history have certainly been strictly tested by logic. Since the objective world itself is a united organic entity, having its own laws and its own objective logic,

people should first learn by practice about logic from the objective world itself. The objective world is the first teacher of logic for mankind. We cannot exclude logic from practice or exclude practice from logic. We must correctly and dialectically unite them on the basis of practice before we can truly interpret practice and correctly master the dynamic role of practice.

We discover truth in practice and use practice to test truth. Practice as the sole source of knowledge and the sole criterion for testing truth, which we often talk about, must not be misconstrued as the exclusion of logical thinking, because practice is the outcome of objective logic which develops naturally, and the logic of thinking is the reflection of objective logic in practice. Practice itself includes logic and is inseparable from logic. Without logic, practice will lose its dynamic nature. That was why Lenin said: "Logic means the question of truth." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol. 36, p. 186) The long historical development of human practice shows that the knowledge which seems to have been proved by practice but not correctly and strictly tested by logical theories is unreliable and can usually be revised or totally rejected by the subsequent development of practice. There are usually different interpretations of what has been proved and what has not been proved by the result of practice itself. Therefore, we still need to conduct a complete logical analysis of the practice which serves to test truth.

Through experiments, Pasteur once "proved" that inorganic matter can never produce anything organic. In fact, what his experiments actually proved was only that, under the conditions then existing and within a very short time to come, lifeless things cannot produce any life. Engels conducted a logical and theoretical analysis of Pasteur's experiment and pointed out that this type of practice could by no means prove what it had to prove. In strictly logical terms, he demonstrated that at the very beginning, life must have come from lifeless things. The historical development of human practice has proved that Engels, not Pasteur, is right (although, of course, it cannot be denied that Pasteur's practice had great significance in other respects). The long historical experience in the development of human practice has shown that people cannot be satisfied with practical experiences or with knowing what has taken place but not why it has taken place. They must supplement such experiences with the proof of logical theory. Practice in mapmaking has on numerous occasions proved the truth of the four-color theory. But mankind was still not satisfied and had to spend over 100 years in the search for further proof; it was not until recently that a proof by strictly logical and mathematical theories was found after thousands of hours of electronic computer operation. Henceforth the four-color theory is accepted as truth beyond doubt. The proof based on Goldbach's imagination can only be depended on as sound logic, because the working out of numerous sets of indefinitely large numbers is basically impossible in practical experience. Thus, logical proof is of great significance in the establishment of truth. Anyone denying or overlooking this

point will result the error of empiricism or even idealism. Pragmatists (subjective-idealistic empiricists) are nonlogicians. They insist that whatever is useful in practice constitutes truth, but the "practice" they talk about excludes logical thinking and is only a "reaction" to external "stimuli" and an activity to "suit the environment"; and the "truth" they talk about does not mean the correct reflection of the objective by the subjective, but only whatever is useful to them. They do not recognize the objective logic of the world itself or the necessity of logical thinking. They only regard the world as something created out of people's subjective and arbitrary thinking.

It is of course necessary that the truth of any theory be tested by practice. However, really scientific theories and logical deductions can also play the role of "revising" practice. Mendeleev discovered the periodic law of elements on the basis of a huge amount of practical materials and, based on logical deduction, predicted the appearance of eka-aluminum. In 1913, Lecoq de Boisbaudran, a French chemist, discovered the element gallium. Mendeleev wrote to the Paris Academy of Sciences saying that the specific gravity of gallium should be about 5.9 instead of 4.7. Boisbaudran reexamined the result of his experiments and discovered some problem with the purity of gallium. He therefore conducted a fresh test of the specific gravity of gallium. The result of the test showed 5.94, which confirmed Mendeleev's prediction.

Recognition of and due emphasis on the role of logical proof not only does not conflict with "practice as the sole criterion of testing truth," but also provides a further scientific explanation of this theory, because, as we have strongly pointed out, logic is produced in practice, and the strength of logic also comes from practice. The importance and reliability of logical proof has been confirmed by the long historical development of human practice. The spiritual strength of logic, through practice, can dynamically transform objective material forces. The strictly scientific dynamic role of logic is none other than the indirect and concentrated expression of the dynamic nature of practice. Respect for logic, far from conflicting with respect for practice, is actually a requirement for respecting practice. Belittling the strength of logic actually means belittling the practice of millions upon millions of people. In the final analysis, what has the highest prestige is practice, nothing but practice. In other words, there is but one final criterion for the testing of truth, and that is practice.

Practice can play the dynamic role of knowing and transforming the world, because people, in the course of practice, make, use, improve and invent tools, instruments, machinery and so forth, and all these manmade material things are used to supplement human perception, the human hand and the physical and mental strength of human beings. People use machinery, instruments and so forth to transform the world, and these activities in turn promote their mental development. Therefore, people's natural attributes cannot restrict the dynamic role of their practice,

and there is unlimited potential in people's dynamic roles. Practice is the most powerful rebuttal to agnosticism. These tools, instruments and machinery are the result of human rationality materialized in practice, and human rationality is the outcome of the dynamic role of practice.

What has been demonstrated above shows that practice carries out dynamic activities in many different ways, and that the dynamic role of practice constantly develops with immense vitality.

Third, practice is social historical activities.

Practice began as social practice, which has also advanced along with historical developments. If we consider the activities of an individual in isolation from their social and historical relationship, we cannot correctly understand practice. These activities cannot serve as a dependable criterion for testing truth either.

The same principle applies to the revealing of truth about social phenomenon. As Lenin said, "The most widely used, and most fallacious, method in the realm of social phenomena is to tear out individual minor facts and juggle with the examples. ... Facts, if we take them in their entirety, in their interconnection, are not only stubborn things, but undoubtedly proof-bearing things. Minor facts, if taken out of their entirety, out of their interconnection, if they are arbitrarily selected and torn out of context, are merely things for juggling, or even worse." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 23, p 279)

Social practice is the sum total of various interconnected and mutually regulative activities of different people. We must connect these different, or even directly conflicting, activities before we can comprehensively and meticulously test the truth of our knowledge in the light of their differences, their connections or their sum total. Only such social practice can be a reliable means of testing.

We cannot truly understand the dynamic nature of practice if we do not understand its social nature, because the dynamic nature of practice and the social nature of practice are closely related and simultaneously developed.

People usually say that man is the cleverest and the strongest of all animals. However, some biologists say that man is the weakest of all animals, because a man entirely cut off from his social relations--a biological man--will simply be incapable of surviving under natural conditions as other animals do. This assertion is of profound significance. The reason is that man's strength comes from social relations. To challenge this viewpoint by citing the experiences of Robinson Crusoe, who lived on an uninhabited island, would be futile. It is true that among living things on an uninhabited island, Crusoe, though separated

(in the outside world, was still the strongest one. He could still be called strong even in comparison with the native who came to the same island by chance. However, he was strong only because of his scientific knowledge, technical skill, gun, ammunitions, tools and so forth which came from a civilized society, and a civilized society is superior to a native society. Therefore, Crusoe's individual practice was essentially a form of social practice, and it was not, and could not be, entirely separated from social relations; otherwise there can be no way to explain the dynamic nature of Robinson Crusoe's practical activities.

All things are in a perpetual state of change, and the dynamic nature of practice is no exception. In social relations, people incessantly coordinate their activities and strengthen their relationships; they exchange ideas among themselves and teach and cooperate with one another in developing science and technology. Thus, people's dynamic role in transforming and knowing the world continues to grow at an ever-increasing speed. At the present stage of development of social practice, science and technology have elevated man's dynamic role in knowing and transforming the world. The depth and breadth of the transformation are far beyond past imagination, and the speed of development is unprecedented and astonishing. Without a historical viewpoint, therefore, we cannot correctly understand social practice and ever less modern practice.

The historical development of practice has also brought people into increasingly closer and broader social relationships. During the primitive age the social relations of people's practice were usually confined within such small common bodies as clans, tribes and so forth. Contacts among these common bodies were also very rare, and their relationships were not close or practically did not exist. The development of practice brought different common bodies into closer relations, and the common bodies gradually grew into nations, states and so forth. The social relations of human practice has even transcended national and state barriers. In the modern age the historically developing practice has expanded the social relations of mankind to a global scale including all mankind, and these relations are continuing to become closer.

Historically, the social nature of practice develops in zigzags instead of vertically. Within the primitive clans and tribes, practice had some social character, because when the productive forces were extremely insignificant, the collective strength of all social members had to be counted on in any undertaking. The appearance of iron strengthened the primitive forces and made individual production possible on a small scale. This adversely affected the social collective character of practice and gave prominence to the individual roles in social practice. Small individual production continued to develop for thousands of years, and in people's minds a narrow concept of practice which one-sidedly stressed the individuals' roles was gradually formed. It was not until the age of large-scale machinery production that the social collective character of practice gradually reasserted itself. This social nature

is based on a large-scale and complex social relationship which is basically different from that of the primitive age.

The practice of scientific experiment, which is closely related to modern large-scale machinery production, also has the character of small individual production at the very beginning. In the modern age, however, the practice of scientific experiment has gradually acquired an ever-increasing social collective character in the course of its own development. Socialist society is historically inevitable and socialist simply because it makes people and other relations adaptable to the continued development of the social collective character. The force of habit of small individual production, which has lasted for thousands of years; the conservatism which is content with staying behind closed doors instead of attempting any progress; the quest for the "small and all-inclusive," the "large and all-inclusive," "absolute self-reliance," and so forth is entirely incompatible with the strong social collective character required in modern practice. Facts have proved that such ideas have caused serious harm to our socialist modernization.

Historical development, if separated from practice, not only makes it difficult for us to understand what human knowledge is, but also prevents us from making a comprehensive and in-depth interpretation of the role of social practice in the discovery and testing of truth. Social practice is to a certain degree the outcome of history and has certain historical limitations. However, there is no limit to history's progress, which will break through all limitations. Important scientific discoveries in history were usually made by different people of different countries at the same time. For example, the periodic law of elements was discovered at the same time by Mendeleev of Russia and Meyer of Germany, while Faraday of England and Lenz of Germany invented calculus. Such phenomena were by no means偶然; instead, they were determined by social practice which had matured in history. Because of the further advance of social practice, Mendeleev's periodic law has been further refined and perfected. Instead of the quantity of atoms, the ordinary numbers of atoms are now used to explain the periodic changes in the character of elements. Chemists have rejected alchemy through scientific experiments, pointing out that one type of element cannot be transformed into another. Modern experiments in nuclear physics have proved the possibility of interchanges among elements, but instead of confirming the correctness of alchemy, these experiments merely revealed the limitations of classical experiments and pointed out that what the chemists could reject was only the idea of the alchemists trying to change elements with chemical methods. What chemical methods failed to accomplish was accomplished by the experiments of nuclear physics. The basic idea in alchemy that elements are interchangeable is still correct, although the methods used were entirely wrong. From this we can see the need for us to examine social practice from a historical point of view so that we can realize that human knowledge is an endless process of development from relative truth to absolute truth. Practice as a

criterion of truth is both correct and incorrect. Because of historical limitations, social practice as a means of testing truth may be somewhat incorrect, but historical development can eventually confirm social practice as a means of testing beyond question the truth of knowledge.

In short, practice is the activity of translating the subjective into the objective, which is a dynamic as well as social activity. This is the Marxist concept of practice.

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IT IS NECESSARY TO ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO IDEOLOGICAL AND MORAL EDUCATION AMONG MIDDLE AND PRIMARY SCHOOL STUDENTS

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[Article by the Education and Public Health Department of the Hangzhou Municipal CCP Committee]

[Text] Middle and primary schools are important training and education centers for youngsters. Strengthening ideological and moral education among middle and primary school students is a very significant step in insuring success in the four modernizations and in enhancing the healthy growth of youngsters.

Youngsters are successors to the revolutionary cause who will form a new political and reserve force for socialist modernization. Our purpose in realizing the four modernizations is to create affluent material wealth, to build a high-level spiritual civilization and to make our country more prosperous than ever. Nevertheless, we must understand that our modernization is being carried out in a country known for its large population, its weak economic foundation and less-developed science and culture. For this reason, our youngsters are required to foster lofty revolutionary ideals and display a forward-looking revolutionary spirit. Furthermore, we must know that class struggle, bourgeois ideas and the remnant influence of feudal ideology still exist in certain parts of our country; as a result of our increasing contacts with foreign countries, decadent foreign and obsolete bourgeois ideologies may flow through various channels to influence us; the struggle to win the support of youngsters still exists in the ideological and cultural fields and in everyday life. Our current urgent task is to conscientiously study the new situation on the ideological and cultural front, the deportment of youngsters and laws governing their growth, and to develop effective measures to painstakingly educate and train youngsters until they can recognize all forms of nonproletarian ideas and resist the erosion of their influence. To this end, middle and primary schools must thoroughly implement the party's educational policy, a policy aimed at transforming youngsters into "three-good" students through education and helping them develop morally, intellectually and physically. Primary and secondary

education is a period of training in which students can lay a groundwork for developing their moral qualities, intellectual aptitudes and physical strength. During this crucial period a stage is set for youngsters to gain knowledge, build up their physique and shape their world outlook. Everyone must begin to study science and culture and build up his physique when he is still young; the same is true of those who were so far and acquainted with revolutionary ideals and acquire noble moral qualities. Whether we can help each student lay an educational groundwork in an all-round way during this period will have a direct impact on his future and a bearing on the outcome of our socialist modernization and the destiny of our country and nation.

When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were at the height of their power, the level of knowledge among students dropped sharply, because teachers could not teach and students could not learn. Since the downfall of the "gang of four," chaos has been eliminated and order restored; vast numbers of teachers have begun to attach importance to intellectual education; great numbers of students have studied diligently and worked hard to acquire scientific and cultural knowledge. This is really something to be celebrated. But we must further strengthen ideological and moral education among the students, help them foster far-reaching revolutionary ideals and clearly advise them of objectives of study and pass on to them our revolutionary spirit of hard struggle. Only in this way can we induce them to study enthusiastically and spontaneously and inspire them to study diligently to realize the four modernizations and strive to scale the peaks of science and culture.

At present it is necessary to strengthen ideological and moral education among middle and primary students as a measure to consolidate and develop an excellent political situation of stability and unity. Since the downfall of the "gang of four," the main trend of thought among middle and primary school students has been good. Nevertheless, we cannot ignore the fact that all students now in school were either born or grew up during the 10-year turbulent Cultural Revolution. Most of them grew into maturity at a time when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were at the height of their power, confusing right with wrong, glory with disgrace, good with bad and beauty with ugliness. Certainly this exerted an impact on these little souls. This is why a number of students influenced by unhealthy ideas are now lacking in lofty ideals, are too realistic and are interested only in seeking comfort and amenities. Of these students, some take a gloomy view of their future and do not trust the four basic principles, while others show no regard for civilization and morality, are impulsive, like to curse and beat people, and do whatever they wish. Some of them even have committed crimes, thus seriously jeopardizing social order and public security. For this reason, we must counter these problems that have cropped up among the students with an ideological education program, a process which must be patiently and meticulouslly conducted; we must help them eliminate the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and constantly resist all forms of

non-Marxist-Leninist ideas. And the fact that no large-scale disturbances occurred in our land, the normal state of thinking and learning has not been restored to the schools. The monthly delinquency rate has declined greatly, and personnel for and good work have returned to college in schools and the atmosphere in schools has returned to normal.

(Continued) experience will be that the policies to strengthen ideological and moral education under the guidance of the national interest and will have a stabilizing effect on society life and can play a great role in improving the quality of education.

Every school should regard teaching as its central task, induce students to devote their energy mainly to learning, and integrate ideological and moral education with the teaching process. This should be regarded as a basic step to give ideological and moral education to students. Learning remains the main activity of students. In the entire teaching process, which includes the students' desire to learn and learners' instructions, teachers must accompany their lectures on science and culture with a program to transmit to students the revolutionary ideas and a question-and-answer period in which difficult problems can be solved. Only in this way can the groundwork be laid for cultivating a proletarian world outlook and good moral qualities among the students. In other words, teaching and ideological and moral education for students should be vitally interrelated.

For example, a language class affords students not only linguistic knowledge but also ways for them to cultivate a personality of moral excellence; a history class imparts to students the long history of their motherland, and a geography class introduces them to its beautiful mountains and rivers and rich natural resources. In addition to enabling students to widen their knowledge of history and geography, the two classes can also enlighten them on the meaning of patriotism and historical materialism. Courses in mathematics, physics and other natural sciences will enable students to acquire basic knowledge of natural sciences and basic technical skills and acquaint them with dialectical materialism and the systematic scientific method. It goes without saying that the course in politics provides an important form for ideological and moral education for students. We must do everything possible to make ideological and moral education a purpose. In this end we must offer it in coordination with other courses and make it an integral part of every teaching program. Ideological and moral education is certain to yield great fruits as long as it can be made an integral part of every teaching program. Despite this, we still have to distinguish the moral teaching process from the process of ideological and moral education. When ideological education is combined with other courses, its content cannot be freely expanded in each specific course. Although teachers are helpful in cultivating good ideas and moral qualities among the students, the students themselves must also engage practical tasks. For this reason, it is stressed the need for

revolutionary life. In teaching and ideological and moral education, we must never give up other forms of political and ideological work. School party organizations, communist youth leagues (CYL) and young guard units should devote their spare time to backing up the regular teacher's program with versatile, constructive extracurricular activities aimed at spreading progressive ideas among the students.

The ideological and moral education programmed for middle and primary school students must emphasize training in a positive way and the method of propagation, enlightenment and advisement. It is known that youngsters are so easily molded and are good at imitation and full of imagination. Their disadvantage is that they lack basic knowledge of Marxism and elementary knowledge of history and therefore are unable to distinguish the true from the false and right from wrong. On the basis of this characteristic, we must make vigorous efforts to acquaint them with the authentic socialist ideology and communist code of ethics and help them realize a revolutionary philosophy of life and consciously resist all sorts of imperialist ideology. In dealing with the ideological problem facing the students, we can only adopt the method of enlightenment rather than any high-handed measures to block their expression of ideas. We must pay attention to the good qualities of students, consolidate and develop these qualities and help the students to foster advanced examples worthy of emulation by youngsters.

We must strictly publicize and put into practice the code of conduct for primary and middle school students issued by the Ministry of Education. This code of conduct is another important method for educating students in a positive way and for acquainting them with the basic demands placed on them by the party and state. Since last year we have explained to students this code of conduct point by point and supplemented it with some regulations governing student activities in school, notably the student admissions, classroom and hygienic regulations. Students are required to observe these regulations, which are expected to play a role in fostering good moral qualities among the students, in getting teaching programs well organized and in creating a healthy atmosphere in the schools.

Ideological and moral education must be conducted in accordance with the principle of seeking truth from facts and in a way that is suitable to each specific student. Only in this way can it produce the intended results. It is necessary to specifically analyze the trends of thought among the students and their progress in learning. Different educational methods must be adopted for different students. We must place greater focus on those "three-good" students who have achieved academic success in an all-round way and advise them to guard against arrogance and impetuosity and to inspire other students to make the same progress. In dealing with students of good academic standing who take an indifferent attitude toward politics and collectives, we must advise them that the purpose of education is to help them raise their cultural levels, make

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION, according to the orientation of being interested and engaged and concerned about being full-fledged "three-good" students. In dealing with students who have taken behind others in learning and discipline and moral education, we must give them patient education and encouragement to the best of their actual needs; we must unceasingly pay attention to their well-being and their progress in learning and in the ideological field, help them bring their positive factors into full play, guide them through a difficult period of learning to win victories and lead them to advance along a path to a bright future. Only in this way can they move forward confidently and make certain progress in the ideological field and in learning. In offering students ideological and moral education, it is necessary to take into account their age. Generally speaking, the younger the students, the lesser their ability to comprehend and assimilate abstract ideas. For this reason we must concentrate on developing a variety of school activities in conjunction with ideological and moral education. Furthermore, exciting and lively games of educational value that can attract the students' interests should be organized to expose them to ideological and moral education in a graphic way, to help them increase their knowledge, to promote their thinking and to enhance their growth morally, intellectually and physically.

A major task is needed to provide ideological and moral education for middle and primary school students. Party and CYL organizations and various school departments must take concerted action to give students ideological and moral education in every conceivable way. Numerous teachers, CP cadres, young vanguard team instructors and political instructors, in form a special team in charge of political and ideological work in schools. Under the leadership of the party, they are urged to do a good job and Party play an active role in this field. Few in schools can exert greater influence on students than teachers, who assume a predominant role in teaching. In addition to successfully guiding students through various courses and focusing attention on their progress, teachers may also give them ideological and moral education and combine their knowledge teaching with strictures on the philosophy of life. Since our teachers meet students almost every day, every move the teacher makes may have profound impact on the latter. In addition to being a good preceptor, a teacher must also pay attention to the conduct of students. In other words, he himself must set a good example for volunteers to follow and impress students with his exemplary deeds and noble moral qualities.

The decision to give students ideological and moral education and to transform them into a reserve force for the four modernizations is a strategic move of great importance and a difficult and complicated task which cannot be accomplished by schools and education authorities alone. This form of education cannot yield good results unless the entire party attaches importance to it, the entire nation is committed to its success and struggle, families and forces in society are mobilized to do a good job

in this field. Thanks to the strengthened leadership of the Hangzhou Municipal CCP Committee and the common efforts of schools and society, this form of education programmed for middle and primary school students in Hangzhou Municipality has scored some success. The 1980's are a great decade. During this decade our education departments must live up to the fervent expectations of the party Central Committee and meet the greater requirements set by it. In accordance with its instructions, we must constantly and consciously strengthen ideological and moral education among the students and strive to transform vast numbers of youngsters into a new generation which is rich in ideals and knowledge, is imbued with noble moral qualities and is physically fit.

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